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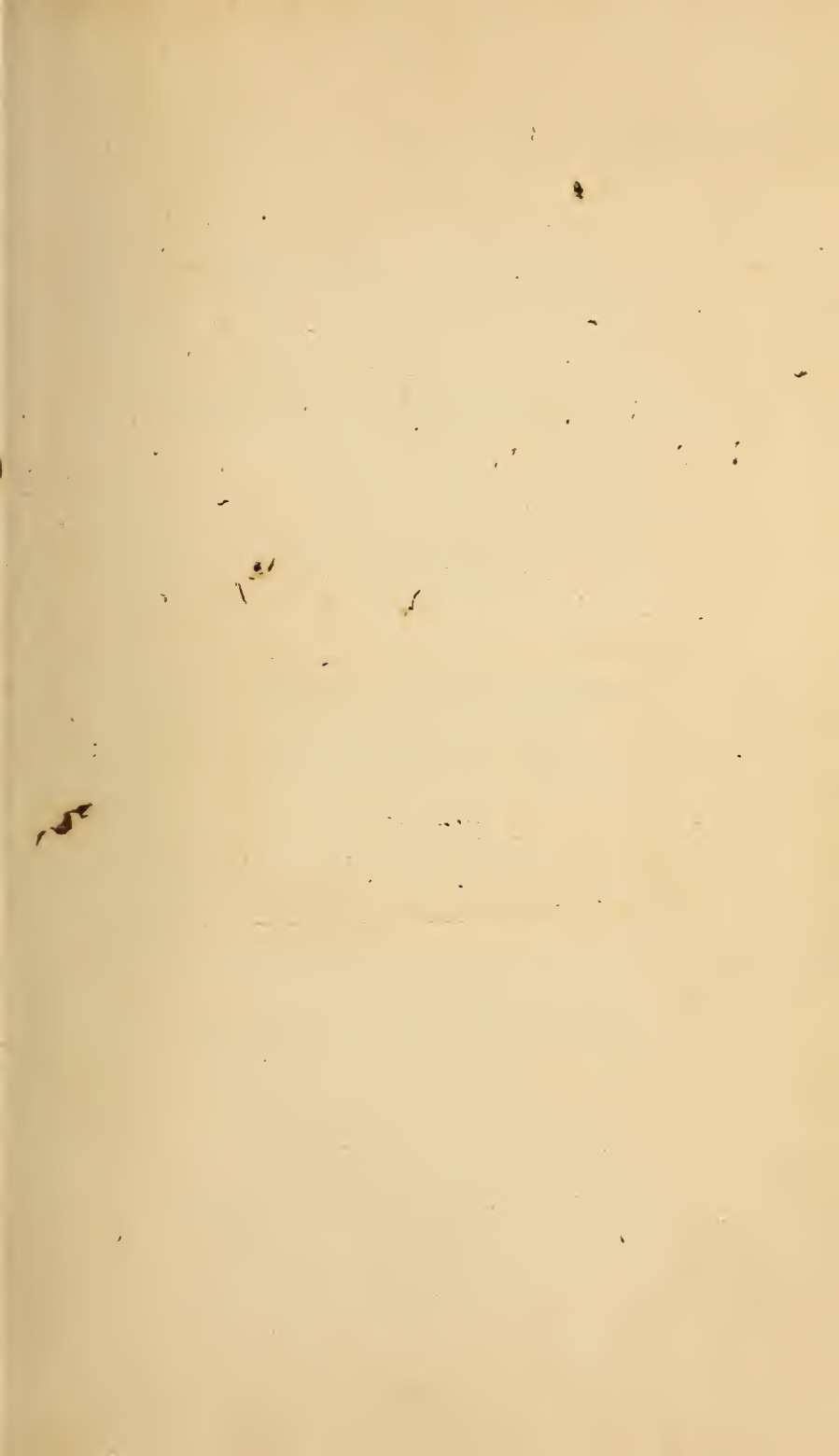
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LATE MILITARY REVOLUTION

IN

BUENOS AYRES,

AND

ASSASSINATION OF GOVERNOR DORREGO;

BEING THE TRANSLATION OF AN

EXPOSITION, ADDRESSED TO THE UNITED PROVINCES
OF THE RIVER PLATE,

BY

CITIZEN DR. MANUEL MORENO,

ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF THE
ARGENTINE REPUBLIC NEAR H. B. M.

IN ANSWER TO ATTACKS, PUBLISHED IN THE BUENOS AYRES
JOURNALS, CALLED THE TIEMPO & PAMPERO,

ACCOMPANIED BY

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

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TRANSLATOR'S

PRELIMINARY REMARKS.



THE late military Revolution in Buenos Ayres, which took place on the 1st of last December, followed by the scandalous assassination of Governor Dorrego, at the moment excited such a lively indignation in the breasts of Englishmen, and more particularly of those who are connected with the Argentine Provinces, by their pursuits of trade, that no excuse is necessary for the publication of the accompanying Exposition and Illustrative Documents, in an English dress. That interest has, indeed, since, considerably increased, through the outrageous conduct of the party wielding an usurped command, which, besides completely dissolving the Federal Union, has brought a large, mixed, and irritated army round the capital, and thus placed the inhabitants in a most perilous emergency. It has also roused the hostility of the foreign residents, and

the French Consul General, at length found himself compelled to embark, and, in retaliation, ordered the vessels belonging to the State to be seized. This dreadful calamity which had befallen the Argentine Republic, at a moment when it had just come out of a ruinous struggle, with credit to itself, and the new administration were making every exertion to heal the wounds of the country and reconstruct its foreign relations, according to the last accounts, had not reached its close, and, consequently, it would be impossible to present any thing like a regular outline, or narrative, of the successive events, so early as this; but, in the mean while, it is an object of importance to know the origin and causes of a revolution, effected through the aid of an armed force, and followed by acts which cannot fail to be viewed with equal abhorrence in Europe.

It is, in fact, the common duty of those nations, in the happy enjoyment of firm and consolidated governments, to condemn the ambitious designs of restless leaders, setting at naught the laws of their own country, and, in order to satisfy their thirst for power, wading through the blood of their fellow-citizens to the Presidential chair. This sympathy the British public owe to the suffering inhabitants of the United Provinces of the River Plate; they in-

deed look for it from us, and the stronger the demonstrations of disapprobation and horror, the greater will be the effect in checking other aspiring men, from seeking to sacrifice their country's welfare and honour to their own personal aggrandizement. Crimes of this kind ought not to pass without censure and punishment. The inhabitants of the Argentine Provinces mean well, and although, comparatively speaking, they may be called ignorant, the community is, nevertheless, composed of men of discernment and circumspect in their conduct. They must not be taken as an unreflecting and spiritless multitude, notwithstanding the little progress made in the consolidation of their Government. It has been their strange fatality, long to have been the victims of disguised patriots, or aspiring chieftains. At one time, they were ruled by men of emptiness, parade and ostentation, intent more on guilty projects for their own private advantage, than anxious to promote the peace and welfare of their country, on enlarged views ; whilst, at another, they are exposed to the lawless and licentious enterprises of Pretorian guards. The public and the governments of Europe besides have a direct interest in the cessation of these horrors, and it must be their anxious wish that all these changes and vacillations should not recur.

These facts will be rendered apparent by a perusal of the accompanying Exposition, deserving of more particular attention from the circumstance of its being written by a gentleman who, besides having gone through the revolutionary phases of his native land, with honour to himself, has had the opportunity of long and attentive observation in England and the United States, the two best schools for the formation of public men. Dr. Manuel Moreno is a brother of the spirited individual who, as early as the year 1810, advocated a free system of trade with the British, as the best means of replenishing the empty coffers of the Viceregal government, on behalf of the land proprietors of Buenos Ayres, and, after distinguishing himself in the memorable changes which soon afterwards ensued, was the first Envoy sent over to Great Britain from the Independents of Buenos Ayres, and died on his passage over. The Exposition now offered to the public, therefore, possesses more than an ordinary interest, and it is, on this account, that the Translator ventures to recommend it to the notice of his countrymen, interested in Transatlantic topics.

London, August 12, 1829.

EXPOSITION,

&c.



HAVING been sent over, in the character of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from the Argentine Republic near His Britannic Majesty, in consequence of the glorious peace which the government had just concluded with Brazil, under the mediation of Great Britain, I was midway on the ocean and pursuing my voyage to England, when two factious Journalists, encouraged by the revolution of the 1st of December, (1828) began to pour forth the loudest invectives against a Mission, intended to return thanks to the illustrious Mediator, in the name of the United Provinces of the River Plate; at the same time, levelling infamous charges and all kinds of insults against the Minister to whom it had been confided; whilst neither the interest which the nation had to comply with the duties of gratitude and policy; nor the considerations to which

the relations of a State are entitled ; the dignity of the government ; nor the respect due to decency, were sufficient to restrain their malevolent designs.

The editors of the *Tiempo* and *Pampero* have filled several columns of their papers with imputations against my honour and character, alike disgraceful and unfounded, and I, for some time, hesitated whether such gross and wanton proofs of personal enmity ought not to be overlooked and left to oblivion. The rancour of two enemies who, abusing the position in which they were placed, step forward to wield unprovoked libels in order to inflict wounds, and the want of liberality with which they attack the absent, indeed rather counselled silent contempt than the necessity of pausing to impugn them ; but, when from vague invectives, indicating only malignant feelings, they actually go so far as to accuse and condemn ; when, in the frantic delirium of their rage, they seek to convert the most innocent, if not, the most meritorious, actions into crimes of State ; when the express text of official documents is uncharitably violated ; the public archives eagerly ransacked, in search of proofs of crime, and even the obvious meaning of words perverted ; when, in the Argentine Republic, an audacious outcry proclaims that personalities ought to be the supreme law ; when, in short, notwithstanding the nature of our institutions, persecutions and banishment, without a hearing, or any other form of trial, are made the order of the day, it would not only be weakness, but also injustice to ones self and country to allow the calumnies of two writers, thirsting for blood and seeking out fresh victims to sacrifice to their im-

placable fury, to pass unnoticed. In such a case as this, self-defence becomes necessary, in order to resist violence ; and one can no longer delay the painful task, or escape the humiliation, of answering them.

In the peculiar situation in which our country was lately placed, we have seen it alleged, as a motive for the deposition of a first Magistrate, that he had abstained from replying to the scurrilous attacks which his enemies had the art of directing against him, through the medium of a public Journal ; and, it no longer appears prudent that this strange system of jurisprudence, which condemns the modest man, when he relies on the testimony of his own conscience, or trusts his vindication to the slow process of the laws, should be sanctioned by custom. It is, besides, proper that the Republic should see that I was sent, in a public character, near the most powerful Sovereign of Europe ; as well as that the Mission, confided to me, did not originate with the Government of Buenos Ayres ; but, rather emanated from that general Authority under which the peace was concluded and was, at the time, conducting the external relations, according to powers derived from the Provinces. It may be equally advisable to shew that the confidence of that same Authority, in its minister, was not misplaced. It is moreover expedient that England should know that the Government of the Republic had not been wanting in its respect, by sending to the presence of her Sovereign an individual, altogether unworthy of obtaining this distinction. As regards the rest, I shall be very brief in what I have to say, because, upheld as I

am, by facts, the strongest and most evident, plain truth is of itself sufficient to confound malice.

The ostensible pretext under which the Journalists above mentioned attack me, is, because I exercised the duties of minister of the government and foreign relations, at the time the late administration came into power. From the performance of these duties, one fact results, the evidence of which alone, one would think, is sufficient to strike them dumb. Scarcely had a month elapsed from my entering into the Ministry, which was on the 20th of August, 1827, when, towards the close of the ensuing September, I tendered in my resignation, not so much through a wish to relieve myself from a burden which imperious circumstances had placed upon my shoulders, as the anxiety I felt to maintain perfect consistency in my principles. Although my resignation was, at the moment, strenuously opposed by the government, I nevertheless renewed it, a month afterwards, and finally, for the third time, in the following month of November, when I withdrew to my own home ; nor did I take cognizance of any public matter, or, affix my signature to any act, until, in this posture of affairs, after refusing to comply with the solicitations of various friends of respectability, anxiously desirous that I should withdraw my resignation, and who are now the best witnesses of the reasons which then withheld me, I was, at length, permitted to retire.

I feel, at this precise moment, that great delicacy is necessary to touch upon this particular occurrence ; and although the fact of my resignation, which at once exposed me to the displeasure and

prejudices of those in power, is the most irresistible argument that can possibly be opposed to the charges of my unjust detractors, I should nevertheless have deprived my defence of this support, if it could, in the slightest degree, prove injurious to the memory of the unfortunate Chief, whose days terminated in so cruel a manner. Fortunately, the publicity of the occurrence alluded to and the causes of my withdrawing from the government, are far from opening the door to disclosures which, at the present period, could be held as savouring of either illiberality, or ingratitude, and can only be viewed as the fair and obvious means of individual exculpation. In the Gazette of December, 1827, the last of my notes on the subject of my resignation was inserted. In it, I acknowledged that my joining the administration, had been attended with the most painful sacrifice of my own inclinations; that the time, although short, as it was, which had elapsed since my admission into office, had increased the repugnance with which I first accepted it; and, finally, "that the responsibility which devolved upon me, in the character of a member of the government, added to the respect which I owed and was resolved to keep, to the principles which I had professed in the Congress, compelled me to withdraw; concluding by an assurance conveyed to the government that, in all times and situations, they would find me a subject, faithful to the laws." This prominent fact, alone, shews that my ideas of the government were not in accordance with the line pursued by the administration, and that this difference arose out of my adhesion to principles which I had constantly sus-

tained in the Congress, not less than in the Provincial Junta; whilst, at the same time, this consistency, on my part, evidently demonstrated that, in my opinion, the responsibility of a minister was not an empty sound.

This explanation alone might suffice for my apology. The ambitious man treats office, as ordinary ones do life, endeavouring to prolong it, as much as they can; whilst, on the contrary, he who guides his actions by the dictates of his conscience; who, by observation and study, has formed to himself fixed notions of policy, and has also had an opportunity of admiring great models, endeavours to descend from an elevated position which, although surrounded with attractions, he cannot occupy with honour to himself, or advantage to his countrymen. This example of respect to principles, which, among us, I will venture to call new, at least, carried to such a point as this, was the offspring of the will and reason, and did not originate in either necessity, or events. Here, however, it is, that I should like our Journalists to explain themselves. Either the administration alluded to was bad, in which case, my withdrawing from it was a laudable act; or, if it was good, which they by no means feel disposed to concede, the writings by which they have unceasingly assailed it, can be no other than a series of impostures. Why, is it, that they censure me, in the character of a minister, and, at the same time, are silent on my retirement from office? Why do they conceal that the government existed fifteen months, whilst I was only a part of it, during three, and in the manner already pointed out? How is it,

that nothing occurs to them against the conduct of those who formed the administration, up to the 1st of last December? Are not these strong indications of their partiality and bad faith? Is it possible to avoid being struck by the barefaced manner in which they dispose of the most remarkable facts; or suppress them, according to their own whim and fancy, in order to give freer scope to their malice? What confidence can writers of this class expect to inspire, by rash expedients, like these?

Let us, however, listen to the charges which these Gentlemen gravely seek to raise up against the administration of *ninety days*. Having received permission to ransack the most recondite archives, a confidential legacy which, in regular governments, passes to the successor, under the well understood obligation of caution and reserve, if they had been fortunate enough to find documents whereby my proceedings could be blamed, the reader may be well assured, that they would not have felt inclined to secret them. In their dispositions, nothing like indulgence was to be expected. After all, however, they produce only one charge, whence it may be inferred that they discovered grounds for no more; not even fictitious ones, in order to gratify their grovelling desires. Nevertheless, this single charge which they have thought proper to prefer, with a view to serve their own ends, is nothing less than an imputation of treason, and therefore punishable by proscription, or death; consequently, it must be repelled.

In order to answer this wanton and base charge, it is necessary to go back and look at the events which

preceded Sr. Dorrego's appointment to the government of Buenos Ayres, as well as the circumstances under which it was conferred. It would be to no purpose to dwell on details, as the occurrences alluded to bear a date so recent, that few of the traces can be effaced from the minds of the inhabitants of the City, or those of the federated Provinces.

In June, 1827, the Republic was strenuously engaged in the war with the Brazilian Empire, at the same time that a civil strife, which commenced on account of the Presidency, convulsed the Provinces of the Union, and an effective and strict blockade besides closed all access to the River Plate. The wants and privations of the inhabitants had, about this period, risen to an enormous height ; the public revenue did not suffice to cover a tenth part of the expences ; whilst all the resources of the public credit were exhausted. The government, after withdrawing from the Bank considerable sums, and obliging that establishment to resort to new issues which daily increased the prevailing alarm, was paralysed by the apprehension of a national bankruptcy. The Congress continued its sittings in Buenos Ayres ; but, without having any authority over the mass of the nation. It had, in fact, lost the public confidence, by taking imprudent measures and violating the laws ; acts which the people were neither disposed to pardon, nor forget. The great majority of the Provinces had also just rejected the Constitution proposed to them, owing to its being in opposition to their wishes.

The civil war had, moreover, been carried on with as much warmth and acrimony as the foreign one ;

whilst the blood of citizens flowed copiously, for several months, in the various rencontres which occurred ; collisions which, during the progress of this unhappy contest, had aggravated the prevailing animosities, and this lamentable state of things was followed by complaints, acts of vengeance, and universal dismay, throughout the whole country. In a word, the Provinces considered the authority of the President as illegal, and this was the real cause of the national calamity. The league of the Provinces, among themselves, consisted of Cordova, Santa Fé, Entre-Rios, Corrientes, Rioja, Catamarca, Santiago del Estero, and San Luis. That of San Juan also withheld its obedience from the capital, and refused to allow the circulation of the Bank paper ; at the same time that the Province of Mendoza had just threatened to take up arms and join the banners of the rest. So great was the general confusion, at the period above alluded to, that there was a decided separation and opposition of ten Provinces, out of the thirteen, composing the Republic, including that of the Eastern Bank, where the army was at the time stationed, and which probably, on this account, did not venture to disobey. Finally, the President's party was overcome.

At this juncture, all hopes of making peace with the Emperor, had likewise vanished. The negotiations, undertaken through the mediation of the British government, were broken off, almost in an irreparable manner, by the rejection of the Treaty with which Sr. Garcia returned from Rio de Janeiro, where he had been sent on a mission by the President. These circumstances could not fail to be de-

cisive of the fate of an administration, which had hitherto boasted of being able to overcome all the obstacles opposed to it; but which, many persons thought, had been driven beyond its usual intrenchments, from the moment it was unable to negotiate a peace with Brazil, so as to be able to send forward the remaining disposable troops against the Provinces which refused obedience to its mandates.

Policy, most assuredly, must have rendered it apparent that the cabinet of Brazil, under circumstances as above described, would feel less inclined to come to an understanding that might lead to a settlement of our ancient differences. It was impossible for it not to calculate on the weakness of a Republic, distracted by contending parties. The friends of the government themselves no longer disguised their sentiments, and very frankly avowed that it was impossible to carry on the war, or make peace. Probably, these gloomy prognostics reached Brazil, there being numbers in Buenos Ayres acquainted with them. It is, indeed, a fact, that the peace could not have been concluded on the terms of the Treaty, negotiated and signed by our minister, sent to Rio de Janeiro; but, it is also evident, that harmony in the State was the first element required to render the public cause respectable, and place us in a situation to obtain honourable conditions.

In this state of things, the President sent in his resignation to the Congress, in which he stated that he had been unable to conclude a peace with Brazil, and in consequence of difficulties, which it was out of his power to overcome, he saw himself compelled to return to the Congress the post that had been

confided him. This resignation was accompanied by all the usual forms and solemnities, the details of which exist among the official papers of the day. The Congress proceeded to accept the proffered resignation, afterwards electing a *provisional* President, in the person of Sr. Lopez ; and, as the injudicious measure of suppressing the Province of Buenos Ayres, which occurred in February, 1826, was then plainly felt, it was ordained by law that the President should convene new representatives, and that, in case their votes were for the restoration, that the Province should then constitute itself on the old footing and under the same institutions, as before.

The elections being concluded, the new representatives declared that it was the will of the Province to resume the ancient form. In consequence whereof, the people organized their government and appointed Sr. Dorrego to the head of the administration. This orderly and legal proceeding was followed by the withdrawal of Sr. Lopez and the Congress, in a tranquil and satisfactory manner.

It is here proper to observe, that the new administration was about to bear the whole weight of the difficulties which pressed so heavily on the late Presidency, at the period of its close ; and was besides called upon to adopt another policy, in order to dispel distrust and remove prejudices. It did not suffice that the further effusion of blood should be spared, within the limits of the Republic ; it became imperiously urgent to employ all the means remaining to make head against an external enemy. On them devolved the arduous task of healing the

wounds, caused by domestic disunion ; of changing a scene of devastation and mourning into one of confidence and peace ; of collecting from the provinces the aids and cooperation, required by the presence of an imposing enemy, already within our territory and persisting in a contest that seemingly had no definite period, and, finally, the new administration had to resort to prompt and energetic measures, in order that every thing might wear the appearance of action and power, so as to shew that the Republic had not entirely ceased to exist. For the attainment of all these objects, of such vital importance to the community, it became necessary to act with magnanimity and prudence ; nor were sacrifices to be spared. If there are cases in which policy would suggest the expediency of temporizing, clearly it was the one in which the country was, at that period, placed ; particularly, as the opposition in the Congress, which had now been called upon to direct the helm of State, had uniformly sustained this principle and could not deviate from it, without incurring the charge of gross and flagrant inconsistency.*

Cordova held an evident ascendancy over the other federated Provinces, and, before the withdrawal of the President was known there, had sent off a Commissioner, in order to make some amicable arrangement. On this occasion, it was, that the Convention, which forms the chief topic of the fear-

* In one of the last sittings of the Congress, Sr. Gomez called Sr. Dorrego " the illustrious chief of the Opposition." " Every thing do we yield up," said the same deputy, in a tone somewhat compunctive, " principles. policy—every thing, do we yield up."

ful charge alluded to, was carried into effect. In times of parties and factions, it is not indeed unfrequent to see both innocence and merit trampled upon; every thing being then beheld through the deceptive prism of the passions. As M. Chateaubriand very justly remarks, in times like these, there are two weights and two measures for the same action. The transforming, or disfiguration of facts, is a trifling sacrifice to men who are determined to be unjust. It would, in fact, seem to have been a peculiar privilege, reserved for our worthy Journalists, to shock every kind of decency; but, when they take upon themselves to publish documents, which cannot fail to excite veneration and respect, seemingly as if people could neither read, nor comprehend, they even insult the most obtuse understanding, by deducing from them conclusions diametrically opposed to their evident intent and meaning. This is the poetical—the sublime of impudence! No comparison can be found for so flagrant an act of folly! To level against me the charge of being a traitor, and that from the contents of documents which they themselves usher to the world, through the medium of their own ready columns, must strike every one with surprise!

This Convention, or rather “Stipulations,” for such was the title given to it, in order to save the credit of the Republic, was published at Buenos Ayres, on the 28th of November, 1827, in the Supplement to the 4th Number and VIth Book of the Official Register, and subsequently in all the papers of the day. It is also inserted at the end of the present Exposition, under the head of the letter A.

The introduction sets forth "that a wish to secure the liberties and rights of the people, as well as to establish the internal tranquillity of the Republic, on a solid basis, by facilitating all the means, conducive to the establishment of mutual cordiality and confidence between them, had determined both parties to approach each other, for the purpose of treating on all the points which their common interest and that of the State, in general, required."

By Article 1, the two Provinces renew their ancient bonds of confraternity; they pledge to sustain each others rights and institutions, and start from "the cardinal point," (such, in fact, do they call it) and under a full conviction, "of the necessity of constituting themselves into a nation and cooperating in the war against Brazil."

Conformably to Article 2, the Province of Buenos Ayres engages to contribute to the early meeting of the Convention, which the Congress, at the time of closing, recommended to be held for the purpose of settling the General Affairs of the country," and although expressing an opinion on the choice of the place, best suited for the meeting, it proceeds with a modesty which guards against jealousies and obviates difficulties.

Article 3 evinces a national and elevated spirit, accompanied by an anxiety to shorten the dangers of the acephalous state in which the Republic was placed, by fixing the day on which the Representatives of the people were to assemble.

The 4th Article is still more expressive of this patriotic wish; and it was further added that if, on the arrival of the day fixed upon, the other Provinces

had not sent forward their Delegates to the National Convention, the two governments engaged to despatch their own, in order in this manner to shew their efficacious wishes to carry the measure into effect, as well as to serve as an example to the rest."

The 5th Article, under the title of Instructions, points out the objects for which the meeting was to be held ; objects, imperiously required by the safety and dignity of the State ; such as to appoint a " National Executive," which did not exist, " for the purposes of peace and war, as well as foreign relations," and also to authorize and guarantee the general expences. The purport of this clause also rendered a just tribute of respect to the opinion, previously expressed respecting the most eligible form of government ;* and, following the example of the enlightened men who gave a truly political existence and a Constitution to the United States, it allotted to that meeting the charge of preparing the ground work for the Constituent Congress, which was afterwards to assemble ; as well as to trace out for it its functions and duties, in order to obviate the dangers of absolute power and the want of responsibility, the very rock on which the three Argentine Congresses, successively seeking to frame a Consti-

* The Congress consulted the Provinces respecting the bases on which the Constitution, which it was about to enact for them, was to be founded ; and although the great majority were in favour of *Federation*, the Congress nevertheless established it under the form of *Unity*. On this account, when the new code was presented to the Provinces, for their sanction, it was rejected by the same great majority.

tution for us, without due premeditation, actually split.

According to the 5th Article, the Province of Cordova offered to delegate to the government of Buenos Ayres, the investiture of the "General Executive," for all the purposes of peace and war, as well as external relations; an honour which, most assuredly, could not be offensive to the Argentines, and which, after what had happened, was a proof of confidence which few only had reason to expect.

Article 7 presents the most complete triumph of reason over civil discord. Far from continuing the dispute, or wasting the blood of the people in tearing each other to pieces, merely to indulge in the pursuits of vengeance, the Province of Cordova, as head of the Provincial League, binds herself to furnish a regiment, "in order to be employed in the exigencies of the war with Brazil." This act, of itself, was sufficient to save the Republic. The remainder of this Article and the others, as far as No. 11, contain no more than economical details, relating to the manner in which this reinforcement was to be carried into effect; although it ought to be further remarked that, pursuant to Article 10, Cordova renews her pledge of concurrence and cooperation, by offering "an additional contingent of men," whenever it should be required; in consequence of which she actually sent forward *one thousand two hundred men* to the ranks of our army, at that time engaged in the campaign. It is indeed true that the expences, required to move this force, were stipulated to be on account of the government of Buenos Ayres, and so in fact they were, and, as set

forth in Article 9, payable out of the Expences destined for the exigencies of the war ; but, let me here ask, when was this not the case ? On all similar occasions, who is it that has paid for the expences of recruiting ? Were not large sums of money expended on the forces organized at Salta, in the year 1825, under General Arenales ? Were not the very troops, employed in the civil wars of 1826 and the beginning of 1827, paid by Buenos Ayres, and even allowed double pay ? Who is there ignorant of the fact that, for a considerable time and during the administration of Sr. Rivadavia, an allowance of four thousand dollars per month was furnished to Santa Fé ? Look to the Treaty of peace, concluded between Buenos Ayres, Santa Fé, Entre Rios and Corrientes, on the 25th of January, 1822, found in the Official Register, No. 5, Book ii, corresponding to the 14th of November, in that year, which is not inserted here, in order not to swell the pages of the present Exposition. Let these precedents be referred to, and it will then be seen whether the parallel is not in favour of the Convention in question.*

The Convention closed with Articles 12 and 13. The first of them is confined to the expression, on the part of the Province of Buenos Ayres, of what every one must be well aware she was ready to perform ; viz. noble efforts to send forward, from with-

* Referring to this very Treaty of Santa Fé, the *Pampero*, in No. 68, inadvertently condemns his own friends. “A capitulation was made (meaning with the Provincials of Santa Fé) and, in short, a shameful tribute covered us with opprobrium.” Such are the very words of this rash and inconsiderate advocate of perpetual war between the Provinces !

in her own district, recruits to the army. The other embraces the usual forms for the exchange and ratification of the instrument.

It will be readily acknowledged, that a public act ought necessarily to be judged, either according to its object, or its results. The object of the Convention, above mentioned, was evidently the pacification and harmony of the Provinces; and undertaken with a view to put an end to the effusion of blood, and establish a general authority, capable of conducting the affairs of the Republic. This last expedient was in fact urgently necessary, in order to renew the negotiations for peace; and it must at the same time be borne in mind that, as the Executive near whom the Honourable Lord Ponsonby was accredited, had, in the interval, disappeared, all diplomatic communication with the mediating minister had thus consequently ceased. The immediate results were, the termination of internal dissensions; the cooperation of the Provinces in the defence of the State, instead of expending their resources in mutually debilitating each other; a reinforcement of one thousand two hundred men, which Cordova sent forward to our army of the line, added to the moral power, arising out of this example; independent of the honour redounding to the Province of Buenos Ayres, from the authority thereby conferred upon her to direct the Nation. In conclusion, it may be added, that during the fifteen months which the administration, so basely assailed, lasted, not a single drop of blood was spilled within the territory of the State; the war against our aggressors was honourably sustained, whilst a glorious peace was besides secured.

These are facts which cannot, for a single moment, be disguised.

Next followed the Conventions with Santa Fé, Entre-Rios and Corrientes, which I also had the honour to promote ; all invariably directed to the same great object and attended with similar results. At this very time, as it were, from a patriotic impulse and a strong conviction of propriety, the remaining provinces, with the exception only of two, the names of which it may perhaps be prudent, for the present, to conceal, provisionally formed a centre of power, by delegating their respective authorities to the government of Buenos Ayres.

Such, in its several operations, was the Convention of the 21st of September, 1827. Where then is that perfidy, which the *Tiempo* and *Pampero* allege to have presided at its formation, to be found ? Who can therein trace that *humiliation*—that *barter of the Province*, which those flippant detractors so suddenly conjured up in their own brains ! Could human reason ever have prostituted itself so far as to condemn an act of this kind ? If the construction of such an instrument, as the one above described, is to be held as a crime, and even a crime of State, what is the award to be given to loyalty, beneficence and zeal ? It would really seem that, for a man to be held as the friend and faithful servant of his country, no less a sacrifice was necessary than to contend against the Provinces, with fire and sword, and spread the flame of civil discord to the furthest extremes of the Republic ! What, is every one who does not feel disposed to light up the torch of civil war, or arm himself with a dagger, to be pronounced

an outcast, a criminal, or a coward ! The Province of Buenos Ayres, as seen from the particulars just exhibited, yields up nothing ; and yet, it is asserted, that she is subjected to *humiliations* ! She loses nothing ; but still, we are told, that she is *injured*. She receives into her arms another Province, standing on an equal footing with herself and coming in search of her, and, nevertheless, it is said, that she *degrades herself* ! She acquires a character, of which she stood in need, and one which, placing her at the head of the State, enables her to direct the war and empowers her to make peace, as well as to treat with foreign powers ; and yet, it is concluded, that she has been *betrayed* ! She acquires a considerable and timely accession of strength, incorporated with her own troops, nevertheless, we have to endure the assertion that she has been *sold and bartered* ! Can this be a reality ! Is it possible to imagine that men can be found so crooked in their ideas and so fallacious in their views, as to reason in this manner !

There being no society, on earth, in which blood and discord form the principal elements and the leading basis of a national policy, as the *Tiempo* and the *Pampero* would gladly wish, it reasonably may be concluded that if internal peace, in itself, is to be considered as a benefit, this benefit must be materially enhanced, when it besides produces other public advantages. Under the circumstances in which the negotiation was concluded, as has already been pointed out, many difficulties occurred, which could not be overcome without a most enlightened patriotism, as well as a spirit of justice, directed by the most prudent moderation ; for, to plunge a nation

into the abyss of war and civil commotions, a few rash, inconsiderate and ambitious men are alone wanted ; but, in order to bring one safely out of a deadly conflict, by conciliating, on the one hand, and giving satisfaction, on the other, requires more than the ordinary exertion of talents and virtues. This is even a precept of Tacitus, who admonishes us that the origin of civil wars may be traced to chance, or rashness ; but, that, to put an end to such calamities, is the work of wisdom and foresight.* Ere this, probably, the Authors of the new civil war, caused by the military sedition of the 1st of last December, feel the whole weight of this profound and timely observation !

But, if in the body of the Convention, we trace nothing of those overt acts of treason, which our doughty Journalists are so ready to blazon forth, let us see whether, in the Secret and Additional Articles, any thing of the kind is to be found. It is indeed against this part of the Convention that the whole of their spleen seems directed ; and, as if the special qualification of “ Private,” afforded our playful politicians a fair and triumphant opportunity of appealing to the public, they avail themselves of it, in order to indulge in imprecations, which can answer no other end than to exhibit more clearly the bad faith by which they are themselves actuated.

Considerable stress must, however, be laid upon one circumstance, which became essential to the Convention of the 21st of September, and this is, that

* *Initia bellorum civilium fortunæ permittenda ; fines, autem, consiliis et ratione perfici.*

the minister from Cordova, as a preliminary step, required that the flight, which it was thought the members of the previous administration would attempt, should be prevented, as well as that of a few others who had exercised some influence over their proceedings. This demand was made, in terms so peremptory, even before the conferences commenced, that the Cordova minister, in a note of the 30th of August, declared, "that the disappearance of a single one of them, would determine him to ask for his passport, as in that case he should consider that all his labours would be fruitless, and every thing useless that it might be deemed expedient to arrange."

The plea, of which he availed himself, was, that his Province had to call them to account, in their character of public functionaries, and as having been the chief promoters of the civil war; at the same time observing, "that the profound indignation of the offended people; public justice; the necessity of rendering the responsibility of those who exercise power, effective; as well as of freeing the country from that demoralization and bad example of seeing men, whom society viewed in the light of criminals, descend from the seat of office, without any account being demanded of them," rendered this measure indispensably necessary. Vide his note, found in the Appendix, under the letter B.

No requisition was here made for arrests, banishments, executions, or even the delivery up of persons. A Province, and one of importance, which it was an object of great moment to conciliate, demanded satisfaction for injuries of great magnitude.

The complaint was instituted by no less than one member of the State against men, at that time in the class of private individuals, who had administered the affairs of the Nation, and with them those of the very Province itself. The demand did not go beyond an assurance that these men should be forthcoming, in order to answer the charges which might be brought against them; an act, in itself, perfectly legal, and Buenos Ayres, in whose jurisdiction they were residing, was required to see that they did not, by flight, evade the investigation that awaited them.

The government of Buenos Ayres was far from thinking that the persons alluded to, had any intention of absenting themselves. It indeed knew well that their views were quite the reverse, and strenuously endeavoured to convince the Cordova representative of the fact; but, without success, as he persisted, in the most positive manner and by virtue of his instructions, on the necessity of guaranteeing their permanency within the reach of our laws, if it was wished to inspire confidence and proceed to a satisfactory arrangement. I may perhaps be allowed to copy, in this place, the conditions required, in the very words in which they were proposed, in order that they may be the better understood and borne in mind, as well as to afford an opportunity of comparing them with the answer of the minister of Buenos Ayres; with the additional Articles, breathing the same spirit and which were afterwards agreed upon, and, lastly, with the strange and distorted interpretation which our dreamers of treason sought to put upon those same Additional Articles.

The minister of Cordova required, 1st, "The security and permanency in the country of every person, belonging to the government which had ceased, previous to the 3rd of July, (meaning Sr. Rivadavia and his ministers). 2ndly, The like security as regarded the General of the army (Don Carlos Alvear) and of Don Valentin Gomez. 3rdly, The collection together of all important documents and an exact statement of all the branches of the government, in *statu quo*, in order to be submitted to the ensuing Congress. 4thly, An express agreement, duly drawn up, for the objects contained in the present requisition."

Another administration, less liberal, would, at that time, most probably, have considered itself, not only justified in placing the persons pointed out at the disposal of the police; but also authorized, in order to guarantee the agreement about to be entered into for the production of the parties, when called upon for trial, to demand the corresponding securities. For less motives, and merely through the report of a general, or the wording of intercepted letters, during the preceding administration, we had seen distinguished persons confined to the city, placed under the *surveillance* of the police, and held to bail, and even some banished; the government, on that occasion, availing itself of powers which, it alleged, the state of the war gave to it. The authorities, nevertheless, who negotiated the Convention of September, abstained from every measure that could in the least affect individuals. The very government, in fact, constituted itself their security, and the minister of Buenos Ayres answered in the terms which

appear from his official note of the 31st of August, found in the Appendix, under the letter C.

In this document will be seen a clause, congenial to the feelings of a minister of a free country, and which cannot fail to meet with the estimation of all enlightened men, as well as being productive of good example. The minister of Buenos Ayres, after stating that the government was convinced of the justice of rendering administrative responsibility effective, observes that, “ combining the respect due to the principles, by which the government is actuated and bound, with that deference to which the requisition of Cordova is entitled ; together with the observance of the law regarding individual security, *which is a sacred and majestic basis of all the rights and a compendium of that freedom to which we aspire*, it had been agreed that a pledge should be given to watch over the persons pointed out, and that permission should not be granted to them to quit the country.” This, in fact, was the whole restriction that possibly could operate against the individuals in question, and did not go beyond an obligation, in case they should attempt to absent themselves, *to make report thereof to the Provincial Legislature, in order that the latter might take into consideration and determine on the envoys’ requisition ; that is to say, respecting the detention of their persons.* It would scarcely be credited that this is the express letter and the whole tenour of this despatch ! Scarcely can it be believed, that this venerable proof of devotion and adherence to principles, could, by a spirit of faction, ever be construed into a crime and denounced as an act of perfidy—an atrocious barter of the country ! Reader !

peruse the document yourself, and see, with your own eyes, whether the contents warrant any such interpretation.

The note concludes by observing, "that they were to be placed at the disposal of the Convention, or Congress, that might assemble, as soon as its authority was acknowledged by the Province of Buenos Ayres, and it had been made known to the government that their trial had been determined upon;" whilst, in the mean while, the documents, on which the charges could be founded, were to be collected.

On this subject, the *Tiempo* of the 3rd of January, No. 198, makes an observation palpably false; and it is the first that occurs to him, viz. that Minister Moreno interprets the communication of the one from Cordova, and gives greater extent to his unheard-of requisition. "The Buenos Ayres Minister," he adds, "not only submits to the humiliation of servilely and meanly consenting to the infamous things, proposed to him; but, also takes upon himself to draw aside the whole veil of the iniquitous deed, as well as to gratify, in the most complete manner, the wishes of the envoy and his uncle (meaning the governor of Cordova.) But," exclaims he, "could it have been possible to give to this proceeding more decisive steps, than those which result from the preceding documents? Could meanness, servility, humiliation, infamy, and the prostitution of the government of Buenos Ayres, ever have reached a higher pitch?"

Yet, what is it, of a substantial form, that appears amidst this cloud of invectives? The personal safety of no one was invaded; no one plunged into prison—

no one banished ; nor have we yet heard that any one was *shot*, without a hearing, or by virtue of a general's *simple order* ! The government did no more than give an assurance that, if the individuals in question sought to absent themselves from the country, it would recur to the Legislative Body, so as to afford the latter an opportunity of prescribing such measures respecting the envoy's requisition, as should seem expedient ; that is, at most, to place them at the disposal of the National Legislature, on two clear and natural conditions ; the first of which was, that the authority of that same Legislature should have been acknowledged in Buenos Ayres ; and, the second, that the said Legislative Body had decreed their trial. In the mean while, it was agreed upon to prevent their clandestine flight, in the manner, usual on such occasions, by means of the general police. Such a *surveillance*, as this, was neither oppressive, nor groundless. The best proof of the mildness of the measure, is, that the parties themselves never perceived it ; and that it has been necessary for our loud-tongued brawlers to obtain possession of the secret archives of the government, in order to know that it ever existed, even after the lapse of a year !

What ! does the thoughtless and imperious writer wish to contend that the government of Buenos Ayres ought to have sent away the Cordova envoy, and deprived the country of the incalculable advantages which it gained by the September Convention, including the peace and harmony of the Provinces ? Such a pretension, as this, would be really " unheard of ;" in like manner as it is infamous and

immoral to argue that men who have held office should not appear before a national tribunal, when there is some one to cite them thither. What is the meaning of this horror of a trial, which, one would think, their own honour impelled them to demand? Would it have been more just and equitable to have conducted them to prison; to have condemned them, without a hearing—without the legal forms—without a sentence; nay, still more, to shoot them, on a mere *military order*? The *Tiempo* may perhaps be struck dumb at this question! The manes of Sr. Dorrego, who signed that very same Convention with the Provinces, as well as the Treaty of Peace with Brazil, and who was afterwards atrociously assassinated by his enemies,* without a trial, or even a hearing, notwithstanding the character of Governor of Buenos Ayres, with which he was invested, as well as that of the General Executive—the manes of this illustrious man, I repeat, can furnish the best answer.

No ulterior steps were adopted; nor were the *meanness and prostitution*, so furiously complained of, attended with any further consequences. The Additional Articles, which will be found in the Appendix, under the letter D, add nothing to the agreement, comprehended and explained in the note of the 31st of August. To remove public functionaries, *notoriously* prejudicial to the tranquillity of the Provinces, and to see that the weight of public affairs rested on men who, by their sentiments and

* On the 13th of December, 1828, at a place called Navarro. Vide particulars at the end.

conduct, could inspire confidence, as well as to dispel not only from the Province of Cordova, but also the rest of the ancient Union, that is to say, from the whole of the Republic, the apprehensions of being again involved in the horrors of a civil war, ought ever to be the duty of the supreme Authority, as well as its most sacred obligation. This, most assuredly, is to sustain the honour of all; and, consequently, the true dignity, elevation and good name of Buenos Ayres. Even without the special reasons which presented themselves for acting with all this prudence, no one can dispute that, among the common attributes of a government, is the one of conferring appointments on persons deserving of its confidence, and if there was then any thing to blame, it is, that notwithstanding this latitude, all the men belonging to the previous administration, and among them well known enemies of the government, were retained, without any exception of places. Readily will it be believed that the elevated accusers, who guide the pen of the *Tiempo*, did not lose a single moment, after the 1st of December, in giving their *congé* to all the persons whom they had reason to think were not devoted to them.

On the other hand, there can be no injustice in listening to a requisition; or, in ordering a summary proceeding to be instituted against a General* who, without being ill, or wounded, had withdrawn from the army, actively engaged in the campaign, and against whom accusations were preferred by its

* This General had been removed by Sr. Lopez, who appointed General La Valleja in his stead.

officers. There is no *servility* in promising to the Republic to do that which the military laws, discipline, the duty of the government, and the reputation of Buenos Ayres required should have been done, before. It is to be supposed that there are no men, so distinguished, as the *Tiempo* himself asserts, as to be exempt from the operation of the laws ; where then are we to find them superior to those laws ; or, how is it we are to understand that treason has been committed against the State, by a determination to try and judge them ?

No greater absurdity possibly could be uttered, than to pronounce any proceeding against persons of the class alluded to, as a criminal offence against the State. Avowals of this kind, evidently shew the finger of a faction, alone wishing to figure in all public affairs. They have said with Louis XIV—“ we are the State”—(*L'Etat cest moi*)—whilst, seemingly, they forget that such an avowal, as this, followed up by corresponding conduct, was not pardoned in a monarch, seated on the absolute throne of his ancestors ; how, therefore, could they expect that it would be tolerated in the subjects of a free country ? Clearly, in the Additional Articles, above referred to, there was no question of any thing that could affect the rights of the Province, or the State ; their object was not to dismember the territory ; to impose any new burden upon it ; to deprive it of its sovereignty, or endanger its privileges. The whole was merely an administrative matter.

The *Tiempo* then proceeds, and with no diminished share of impertinence, to examine whether the Provincial House of Representatives granted special

powers to ratify the Articles above enumerated, and, at the same time, goes so far as to say that, "judging from the line of conduct which the majority constantly observed, the House would not have hesitated to authorize the government to proceed to the ratification, if the affair had been submitted to their cognizance ;" adding, "that it is, however, probable that the Executive abstained from doing so, through a dread of a few deputies, belonging to the minority, who always sustained, although weakly, the rights of the people." But what dread could a minority, of the class above described, have excited ? When the government did not inform the Legislature of the existence of the Articles, even when it had reason to rely on their approbation, it ought to be inferred that it was not its intention to execute them. If the House did not afford their sanction, clearly, they could not be legally carried into execution. Where then, is that personal injury done to any one, of which we hear such loud complaints ? Were the parties at any time molested ? No one ever heard that they were. If, therefore, any one has reason to complain, it is the Province of Cordova ; but, it can scarcely regard the *Tiempo* to see her satisfied, at the expence of the inconvenience it might cause to his " distinguished personages."

At length, we have come to that part of the subject, when it is necessary to look into the causes of these accusations. The *Tiempo* thinks that the man who concluded that Convention ; whose public life is marked by numerous steps, proving him to have no love whatsoever for the land which gave him birth, and whose name has invariably figured in all

those foreign intrigues which have for their object the degradation of the country, as he evinced when he alone, in the whole of the Argentine Republic, enthusiastically decided in favour of a certain preliminary Convention of Peace with the Emperor of Brazil (the one negotiated by Sr. Garcia) ; a man of this kind, he proceeds, “ ought not to be our minister at any foreign court whatsoever, and possibly less in England, than any where else.”

As regards the public life of this man, it will suffice to say, that, previous to the revolution, he served his country, in several situations, and received honourable testimonials of his conduct from the superior authorities. Since that memorable event, and in times the most perilous, he had, without ever once vacillating, been placed under the standard of his country's freedom and independence, on which, from the year 1810, the name of his family is inscribed.

In 1817, his opinions and writings, in defending the Oriental Province against a Portuguese invasion, when some persons were encouraging it through perfidy, and others were applauding it through error, or debility, brought upon him a persecution under the ominous government of Pueyrredon, who, at that time, presided over our country.

At the close of 1821, on his return from the United States, where he resided five years, he was named by the City of Buenos Ayres to the Provincial Junta, when his conduct met with the approbation of his fellow citizens, and he was returned by the same city to all the successive Legislatures, until the Province was suppressed, towards the commencement of 1826.

The tribune of the Legislature of Buenos Ayres and that of the General Constituent Congress, of which he was also a member, are witnesses of his principles. His speeches, preserved on the Journals of both Houses, and also separately published, evince his zeal and efforts in support of freedom and the laws.

In 1825, the government of General Las Heras had selected him as Envoy to the American Congress of Panama, whither he did not go, in consequence of the administration and policy of the country soon afterwards changing.

In April, 1826, he was named by President Rivadavia in the character of Minister Plenipotentiary to the United States, as may be seen from the National Register of that month, which appointment he refused to accept.

In August, 1827, he joined the ministry, when he promoted the pacification of the Provinces and re-established the negotiations for peace with Brazil, by tracing the plan on which it was concluded, a year afterwards; which plan, according to the report, forwarded by our own Chargé d'Affaires in London, was, by Lord Dudley, at that time H. B. M. minister for Foreign Affairs, pronounced to be the most judicious that had hitherto been presented.

Finally, on his departure from Buenos Ayres, on the 13th of November, 1828, a paper,* more impartial than the *Tiempo*, spoke of him thus; "To-day our fellow-countryman, Dr. Manuel Moreno, embarks for England, in the Nocton packet, in the character

* The *Diario Literario y Politico* of Buenos Ayres, of the 13th of Nov. 1828, No. 61.

of Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of the Argentine Republic, near H. B. M. The important services which he has rendered to his country, justify the judgment which the government has had in this selection. This distinguished citizen served, as a clerk, in the Secretary's office of the government, even before our glorious revolution. After that event, in the first Legation that left here for that same court, to which he is now proceeding, he went in the character of Secretary (in 1811) jointly with Sr. Dn. Thomas Guido, at present minister of the government and foreign relations. On returning to his native land, he discharged, for a long period, the duties of principal clerk in the office of the Secretary of the Government. He was a deputy for this Province in our Legislature, and a representative of the Oriental Province in the general constituent Congress. Finally, he was Secretary of the Government and foreign affairs, under the present administration. In the whole of these situations, he evinced the purest patriotism, and the talents with which he acquitted himself, on all occasions, have not only done him much honour, but also secured to him the esteem of the whole of his fellow-citizens. We have not been able to refrain from performing this duty imposed upon us by justice. We wish him a prosperous voyage and every kind of success, in the discharge of the important commission again confided to him. We have indeed the best grounds for hoping that his efforts, on behalf of his country, will not be fruitless. The superior qualifications by which Sr. Moreno is distinguished, and who is not only duly esteemed by all

good patriots, but has also met with particular consideration from the British authorities, resident in our country, indeed afford us room to expect the best results from his mission."

As regards his having always figured in the foreign intrigues, which had for object the degradation of the country ; how is it, that the *Tiempo* does not state what kind of intrigues these were ? Where is it they are to be traced ? Who promoted them ? This, however, he says, I proved, when I was the only one in the whole of the Republic, who enthusiastically decided in favour of Sr. Garcia's Convention. But, in the first place, it is not proved that this was an act of treason, or a foreign intrigue, since no attempt was ever made to try the minister by whom the negotiation was conducted. In the second, I had nothing whatever to do with this affair ; my opinion respecting its merit, as an individual and a member of the Congress, was free, and although it might be erroneous, in no way was it censurable. It is, moreover, untrue that I approved of the Convention in question, and much less could I do so, enthusiastically. This puerile and miserable calumny has, in fact, over and over again, been belied, and it is so by the very Minutes of the Congress. I, in fact, considered that Treaty as blameable, as I did the conduct of the President, and what I proposed to the Congress, was, that, before proceeding to any discussion upon it, *the Executive should be required to render in an account of the state of the nation.* This was not done ; neither was the Treaty discussed. Finally, if I had defended the Convention, its spirit would have been visible in the subsequent negotiations with

Brazil, which, two months afterwards, were placed under my immediate direction, when, so far from this being the case, they took a different course and were certainly attended with other results.*

What, let us also ask, are those foreign intrigues? Peace is made, and, as every one has been obliged to confess, made on honourable terms. The patient and generous conduct of the British government, throughout the whole course of the negotiations, has merited the tribute of our gratitude. Are we doomed still to hear of that idle and foolish story of the British seeking to retain possession of Montevideo, for themselves? At shadows, like these, we ought not to startle. Besides, has the mediation of Great Britain cost us any thing; has it been attended with the smallest expence to the Oriental Province? How miserably wretched is all this! A spectre certainly pursues these sensitive writers of Buenos Ayres newspapers, and his grim visage appears in every line they pen.

When the foreign resident agents oppose the subjects of their nation being forced to perform military duty in Buenos Ayres, then, it is, that they suppose they have caught hold of these intrigues, in real earnest. Under date of the 18th of April and in his No. 276, the *Tiempo* very gravely affirms, "that it is impossible not to see a great *foreign intrigue* in

* A month after I joined the ministry, proposals were received from the cabinet of Brazil for an armistice, on condition of the Emperor's troops remaining in Montevideo, and rejected. How far distant is this from the plan of leaving the whole of the Oriental Province to him, which was the one embraced by the Convention in question!

the conduct that has been observed, within the last few days, by the greatest part of the foreign agents, resident in this capital. They appear to have plotted together to carry into effect sinister plans, by availing themselves of the crisis in which the country, at this moment, stands; and perhaps there is nothing hazarded in the assertion that the British Minister in Buenos Ayres (Mr. Parish) has placed himself at the head of this iniquitous plot. The contradictory and daring conduct of the French Consul (M. Mandeville) is a proof of what we have just stated." As much, if not more, did this same Journalist impute to His Excellency, Lord Ponsonby, even during the progress of that mediation which the Republic itself had solicited.

If, amidst the overwhelming difficulties and exigencies into which the country has been plunged, any paper suggests the idea of conciliation; if the voice of weeping humanity is heard, allaying the irritation, frankling in the public mind, in a rage, does the *Tiempo* cry out,* "a person must be blind not to see that, in Buenos Ayres, a great *foreign intrigue* is unfolding itself, and that the man who holds the thread of the labyrinth, is an agent who has been the most bitter enemy to this country, from the inauspicious moment he arrived on our shores. From the dark haunts of our foreign diplomatists," does he add, "issued the idea of conciliation," &c. This is indeed acting and reasoning, according to the Spanish fashion. This is again to be troubled with the spectre of treason and intrigue! Scarcely can

* In his Number above quoted.

it be conceived that there are men in existence, who venture to treat the political affairs of a nation with so much levity and such a want of courtesy and truth; as well as with such a spirit of unceasing re-
 crimination, visible in every page—nay, in every line of our Journalist's writings, and levelled against both natives and foreigners. He has the peculiar art of always beginning his topics by deciding, instead of discussing the question which he seeks to propound, and, of course, after establishing, in his own way, that what he wishes to combat is nothing else than sheer treason, he proceeds to apply the anathemas which, in his judgment, the case may require.

With the same want of moderation, and, if possible, with more marked injustice, does a cotemporary of the *Tiempo* express himself, writing in the *Pampero*, a paper that seemingly has no other object in view than to calumniate and insult, and whose attacks are more particularly directed against the minister who concluded the September Convention. From his very first number, the article, headed TREASON, may be taken as a prelude to that series of base productions, in which he encourages a spirit of insubordination against the laws. After asserting "that he does not agree with the maxim of demanding an account of public functionaries," that is, when they belong to his own party, a maxim which he calls "fatal," he proceeds to demand that, through the medium of a *proscription*, and consequently without a hearing, or being called to an account, punishment should be awarded against the minister who, in the character of a *public functionary*, signed the

Convention above alluded to, and without detriment to those very professions which his zeal had previously urged him to make. This writer, or rather this new fury, does not wish that the government, to whom he addresses his counsels, should commit *the great fault of inspiring horror, with hesitation*. But, he ought to have called to mind the saying of a philosopher, of our own times, who tells us that “violent reigns are not a political existence, in like manner as tempests do not form the real state of the atmosphere; that a government may do injury, as does the fire of heaven; but that both do no more than pass away and extinguish themselves, amidst their own disasters. A government of this kind, is a government of the sword—its maxim of state, is blood.”

Any one who reads the following lines, will readily compassionate the wretched state of the country in which they could be penned and published. “*Treason*,” exclaims the *Pampero*, “this is the crime that was perpetrated in the Convention of the 21st of September, 1827; this is the crime that demands punishment, in order that its impunity* may remove from us even the possibility of any such being again committed. *Dorrego*! The unfortunate Dorrego no longer exists! Let us leave him in his grave, where he will never again injure his country. The other, however, still exists, and he may again become a delinquent; him, therefore, it is, that we are to punish, for the present, by our execrations, afterwards, by a proscription such as the laws may decree.”

* Punition, it is presumed, is here meant, and not impunity.

But, what laws of a civilized and free country are those, which award the penalty of "proscription" against a public functionary, without trying him, or hearing his defence? "But," adds our expounder of the laws, "fortunately, there is no necessity for instituting legal proceedings; they have already been instituted and may be seen in the Articles themselves; there is no need to proceed to trial, for this has already been done. No delay ought, therefore, to occur in the execution of this punishment (here he ought to have added, which I myself, the accuser, have pronounced in the name of and duly representing my country) by beginning to strip him of the public ministry which he is gone to exercise in foreign countries. In vain," proceeds our Journalist, "would it be to have caused blood to flow, on the 9th of December, (and more shall flow, if the wretches do not yield) unless heavy blows of authority are also struck."*

* This terrorist is a Spaniard, and probably one of those who introduce themselves into the cause of America, with intentions similar to those of Sextus Tarquinius, when he passed over to the other side, with a view to ingratiate himself with those whom he was seeking to destroy. His Peninsular doctrines of *ex officio* proscriptions—allegations, marked, *public and notorious*, and *heavy blows of authority*, very plainly evince the feelings of a subject of Ferdinand. His name is too contemptible to commit it to paper. The other editor of the *Tiempo* is a still more despicable imp who, by a decree of Sr. Rivadavia himself, was expelled from the Secretary's office of the government, in 1823, and banished the city, for a robbery of eight thousand dollars, which he committed in the above mentioned department, and spent at the gaming table. In consequence of this, he has, in the eye of the law, been branded with infamy, and disabled from being admitted, in a court of law, as a witness; but, as, luckily for him, he is a poet, he availed himself of the poetic licence

Thus, according to our ranting writer, the dire alternative of putting a man on his trial, is a crime against the nation, and the fundamental laws of the State are thereby infringed, although there is some one ready to prefer the charge, and demanding that justice should be enforced. According to his tenets, however, it is more just—more in accordance with the laws to *proscribe*, without a hearing—without calling the intended victim to account. It would almost seem as if the *Pampero's* logic was startled at absurdities, of this kind, as he very sneakingly observes, that he does not blame the administration which concluded the September Convention “for *its opinions*, but for *its acts*, according to which it is necessary to agree that no one is inviolable;” but he affects to have forgotten that there was no wish to judge its predecessors for opinions, but for acts, and acts of such great moment, that they did not amount to less than the lighting up of a civil war among the provinces. “Hence,” does he add, “would it follow that by trying without a cause, and without any demand from a legitimate party (and certainly the Province of Cordova was of this class) the public

of calling the robbery a *misfortune*, and being afterwards occasionally reproached for the slippery act, as a kind of peace-offering, he published a certificate of his having refunded the amount stolen, as if the penalty of the thief was confined to restitution, and there was not besides a punishment and ignominy awarded both by public opinion and the laws. It is confidently stated that, during his banishment, he took poison, but not in sufficient quantity to send him to the other world, and, in the arms of a worthy friend of his own, he sung the death of Socrates, in the very act of drinking his hemlock. In November, 1827, he wounded a citizen with a pistol-ball, at a Coffee House; this also has he converted into a poetic gambol, and playfully calls it his “assassination !”

theatre of the country would be converted into a perpetual field of battle between the conquerors and the conquered." The evil, however, would still be greater, if, following the Journalist's own doctrine, people were condemned and proscribed, without a hearing, as he himself wishes should be done. In that case, the public theatre would present no other than a revolting scene between executioners and victims. Further on, he confounds himself by observing that the persons *claimed*, for *tried* they have not been, might be called upon by the national power to answer charges preferred against them, and then, in whatsoever country they might be, they would be obliged to appear, and doubtless they would appear, when called upon by the laws." Nevertheless, although the experiment is very dubious, let us suppose that this would be the case, still, it may be lawful to infer that they would have received no injury, in being spared the trouble and inconvenience of a fresh voyage.

This writer not only distinguishes himself by the ferocity of his ideas, but also by his malice. In one part of his first number, he says, "that Governor Bustos had no reason to seek to avenge himself on the persons of the late administration, for they had never done any thing against him, individually, nor even against his government;" and yet he afterwards cries out, with a kind of stupid inconsistency, "that they were conveying these men away to be sacrificed!" What had they done contrary to a Convention, which had not even an existence? Can any doubt be entertained of the authenticity of Sr. Bustos' note; and yet, having it before his own eyes, he dares

to throw out a hint that the demand, made in it, was the result of an intrigue on the part of the Minister of Buenos Ayres.

I must not pass over in silence the attacks which the *Tiempo* and *Pampero* personally level against myself, by accusing me of having received pay, under Sr. Dorrego's government, "for services which," they allege, "I never performed." In the time of Sr. Rivadavia, I had instituted a demand, and the matter was still pending, for pay which the laws of the country award to every functionary who has been deprived of his office, without an inquiry, as I was, by being sent away to the United States, and every one who had been situated as I was, had been paid. I alone was an exception, and my demand, which had undergone all the legal forms, and its justice acknowledged in the several departments, as well as by the Attorney General of the State, after a delay of eleven years, wanted nothing more than the will to pay it. The whole file of the proceedings thereon instituted, exists in the Accountant General's Office, and to it I refer my calumniators. I, nevertheless, had the delicacy to deprive myself of the fruits of these *my services*, all the time that my administration lasted, and it was not till after it had closed that I urged for payment, which was made by *six thousand two hundred* dollars being delivered to me, *in paper*, the whole amount of this great stipend which, according to my detractors, deprived the Government of the means of paying the army! They complain that the payment was not made in public funds; but, debts of this nature it has never been customary to pay in that manner. Of this fact I could quote numerous examples. Besides, those

who were paid before me, and when I ought equally to have been so, if they received paper, did not experience any loss, as it was then at par ; and bills of the public credit were allowed an advance of a fourth part, besides occasionally gaining in the market ; at all events, having been paid in time, they enjoyed the interest on a capital of which I had been deprived for eleven years. In a word, if I had been paid in public funds, the value of which is at present 50, I should in reality have received 3100 dollars, whereas, owing to the loss on the paper in which I was paid, rather better than 200 per cent. the amount handed to me did not net more than *two thousand and fifty dollars* ! Besides, the littleness of mind with which these people calculate the pay of a minister of his nation, in a foreign country, as well as the envy with which they view his appointment, excites more pity than surprise.

We shall conclude with another solemn testimony of the principles which guided my administration, independent of many others that might be quoted, as well as the note of the 31st of August, of which mention has already been made, for I do not disguise the truth, my voyage to the United States and five years residence there, afforded me the opportunity of forming myself in the practice of freedom and toleration. In November, 1827, a revolution was plotted against the Government, beforehand prepared by all kinds of seditious writings. This conspiracy is the same as that which a correspondent of the *Pampero*, in his No. 66, recently boasts of, and was then felt in Buenos Ayres and agitated the city so much, that it was not necessary to wait for this last revolution to be convinced of its existence,

as well as for it no longer to be doubted that it was the pusillanimity of one of the conspirators, a Spaniard, that was the cause of its not then openly breaking out. Nevertheless, the public tranquillity was interrupted by partial disturbances, and blood spilled in a Coffee House, by one of the leaders of the opposition against the Government. In this state of things and amidst the alarm prevailing among the good citizens, the matter which occupied the attention of the Legislature, in a sitting held during one of those nights, was, the necessity of adopting measures in order to restrain the agitators, and more especially the audacious licentiousness of the press, the freedom of which was, at that time, abused, in a manner never before witnessed. This was indeed urged with great vehemence by several of the Deputies, who even reproached the government for its supineness and want of vigour. From the ministerial bench I, however, answered that, as regarded extraordinary powers, in order to repress criminal attempts against the constituted authorities, the Government was far from either requiring, or wishing, them, as it considered that the laws, in their ordinary course, were sufficient; and that, with respect to the abuse of the freedom of the press, although it was of the most scandalous kind, and particularly offensive to the Government, I prided myself in declaring that my principles were those of the illustrious Jefferson, the column of American freedom, who upheld that "truth had nothing to fear from error, as long as that truth has equal freedom to explain itself." The whole of Buenos Ayres heard this solemn declaration, and besides saw that it was religiously observed,

as, during the period of my administration, the law relating to the freedom of the press was never touched; nor was a single proceeding instituted against any writer.

I now feel called upon to close the present Exposition. The impartial world and my countrymen will form their own judgment upon it. I have trusted the vindication of my honour to a simple examination of facts, and upon them will sentence be passed. I might be satisfied with the award of public opinion, when the voice of my own conscience tells me that it must be favourable; but, wishing to meet my enemies, face to face, I cite and challenge them, before the laws and authorities of my own country, to sustain the enormous defamations which they have had the hardihood to utter against me. Appealing to this national and incorruptible tribunal, I am impelled by no other interest than that of my good name, of which I have hitherto been in quiet possession. Furthermore, I may be allowed to add that, if the competent and legitimate authority, presiding over the affairs of my country, should not require my services, I shall withdraw into retirement, imitating the example of the Spartan who had lost his election among the number of the *Ephori*, well satisfied that the Republic has so many men of merit and virtue, exceeding me; but, at the same time, justly proud of having always discharged the duties confided to me, with integrity and zeal.

MANUEL MORENO.

London, June 30, 1829.

APPENDIX
AND
ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS.

APPENDIX.



(A.)

STIPULATIONS AGREED UPON AND ENTERED INTO, BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF CORDOVA AND THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AYRES.

A wish to secure the liberties and rights of the Provinces, as well as to establish the internal peace of the Republic, on a solid basis, by facilitating all the means tending therein to perpetuate mutual cordiality and confidence, determined the Government of the Province of Cordova to despatch its Envoy, Dr. Francisco Ignacio Bustos, to treat with the Government of the Province of Buenos Ayres, on all that might be conducive to this object; and, after presenting his credentials and his character being duly acknowledged, the Government of Buenos Ayres, for this purpose specially empowered by the Honourable Junta of the Representatives of the Province, on its part, authorized its Minister and Secretary of Government, D. Manuel Moreno, in order to treat on all the points which the common interests of the aforesaid Provinces and the State in general required; and, both having conferred and discussed the several matters, they agreed to the following Articles:

Article 1. Both Provinces being acknowledged equal and as having the same rights, they at once contract the most solemn engagement, mutually to sustain each other and defend their existing institutions; avowing and establishing, as cardinal points, a determination to constitute themselves into a nation and cooperate in the war against the Emperor of Brazil.

Art. 2. The Province of Buenos Ayres will proceed, with the least possible delay, to name Delegates for the Convention that is to be held for the purpose of arranging the general affairs of the country, which, according to its vote, ought to meet in Santa Fé, or San Lorenzo, pledging that they shall proceed forward as soon as the Government of Cordova, as being more in contact with the distant Provinces, shall have given due notice of the day on which the sittings are to open, and also of the place of meeting, according to the majority of the votes of the Provinces themselves, to which Buenos Ayres at once submits.

Art. 3. The two contracting Governments pledge to use all the means within their reach, in order that the meeting aforesaid should take place, before the 1st of the ensuing November.

Art. 4. In case the Delegates of the other Provinces, whether in part, or in the whole, should not have arrived at the place of meeting, on the day fixed upon, the two Governments bind themselves to send forward their own Delegates, in order, by this means, to shew their efficacious desires to carry into effect the meeting, and as an example to the rest.

Art. 5. The instructions, under which both Provinces are to send forward their Delegates to the Convention, shall be directed to the following objects, viz. ; to nominate a National Executive, provisionally, for all purposes relating to peace and war, as well as external relations ; to authorize the same to incur such expences as these matters may require, out of the funds which may be obtained on the common credit, or such supplies as may hereafter be furnished ; to afford bases as a guidance to the Constituent Congress, intended afterwards to assemble, within the time designated by the Convention ; to define, with exactitude and precision, the attributes and duties of the Constituent Congress ; and finally, at once to fix the form of the Government which is to be, according to the wishes already expressed by the Provinces, the Federal one, so as to provide for the security of the country, under existing circumstances.

Art. 6. The Government of Cordova will cooperate, in order to authorize, on the part of the said Province, the delegation of all the attributes, necessary to form the National Executive, so as to enable the Government of Buenos Ayres to conduct all matters connected with peace and war, as well as foreign relations, until the Convention shall assemble.

Art. 7. The Province of Cordova engages to send forward a regiment, composed of six hundred men, in order to be employed in the exigencies of the war. The appointments of the commanders and officers of this force shall be made by the Province, furnishing the contingent.

Art. 8. In case of vacancy, or removal, whatsoever may be the motive, the general under whom this force is serving, shall provisionally fill up the vacant places ; but report thereon shall be made to the Province, through the medium of that of Buenos Ayres, in order that its authorities may name the parties who are to succeed to the vacancies of all such commanders and officers.

Art. 9. The resources requisite to move this force and furnish it with a month's pay, previously to its quitting Cordova, so as to meet the expence of the outfit, shall be provided by the government of Buenos Ayres, out of the funds destined to meet the exigencies of the war.

Art. 10. Whenever an ulterior aid of men should be required, the Province of Cordova engages to furnish it, on the same terms and under the same conditions as are above expressed.

Art. 11. At the conclusion of the war, the Cordova force shall be restored to its Province, in the state in which it may then be ; the authorities thereof, in the mean while, binding themselves to see to the apprehension and conveyance back of such deserters as may have escaped from the place in which they were serving, in order to return home.

Art. 12. The Province of Buenos Ayres will make every effort to send forward, from its own districts, as many recruits as possible, in order to strengthen the army of operations, so as to sustain the campaign in the firmest manner, as it has hitherto done.

Art. 13. The present Stipulations shall be ratified by the two contracting governments, within the term of three days from the date hereof, on the part of the Government of Buenos Ayres, and written ten days from the arrival of the Envoy of Cordova in his Province, and mutually exchanged.

Done in Buenos Ayres, this 21st of September, 1827.

Signed, FRANCISCO IGNACIO BUSTOS
MANUEL MORENO

RATIFICATION ON THE PART OF THE GOVERNMENT OF BUENOS AYRES.

We, the Governor and Captain General of the Province of Buenos Ayres, by virtue of a special power from the Honourable House of Representatives thereof, granted in the Sitting of the 22nd of the present month of September, do hereby approve and ratify, in all its parts, the stipulations and agreements contained in the twelve preceding Articles. Buenos Ayres, September 23, 1827.

(L. S.)

Signed, MANUEL DORREGO
JUAN RAMON BALCARCE

RATIFICATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF CORDOVA.

We, the Governor and Captain General of the Province of Cordova, by virtue of special powers, granted by the Honourable House of Representatives, in the sitting of the 4th of October, do hereby approve and ratify the preceding stipulations, with the following additions :

To Article 1. As is already agreed upon by this Province with the others forming the ancient Union, in the compacts of Federation.

To Art. 2. The Government of the Province of Cordova having been empowered, and by the deliberations of its own Legislature being obliged, to convene a Congress, it leaves the declaration on this subject to the next meeting of the Delegates, who, at the opening, shall determine whether they are to have the character of a Congress, or a Convention.

To Art. 8. But a due report thereof shall be made to the Province, through the medium of the National Executive, instead of " through the medium of that of Buenos Ayres."

For which purpose we have caused the same to be sealed with the arms of the Province and countersigned by our Minister and Secretary. Signed in Cordova, this 7th of October, 1827, seven days after the arrival of our Envoy.

(L. S.)

Signed, JUAN BAUTISTA BUSTOS
JUAN PABLO BULNES.

POWERS CONFERRED BY THE HONOURABLE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES FOR THE RATIFICATION OF THE CONVENTION.

In the Hall of the Sittings, in Buenos Ayres, this 22nd day of September, 1827—the Honourable House of Representatives of the Province, having taken into consideration the Stipulations, entered into between the Government of the same and that of Cordova, in a secret sitting of this date, have thought proper to enact as follows :

“ The Governor and Captain General of the Province of Buenos Ayres is hereby authorized to ratify the Stipulations entered into, in this city, on the 21st of the current month of September, between the Province of Cordova and this, through the medium of their respective Plenipotentiaries.

And the same is communicated to His Excellency the Governor of the Province of Buenos Ayres, by orders of the aforesaid Honourable House of Representatives, for his information and such purposes as may be expedient.

Signed, VICTORIO GARCIA DE ZUÑIGA, President
EDUARDO LAHITE, Secretary.

To His Excellency, the Governor and
Capt. General of the Province, &c.

(B.)

CONFIDENTIAL.

Buenos Ayres, August 30, 1827.

When the undersigned was invited by the minister of the government and foreign relations to explain the objects of his mission, and to which he readily consents, notwithstanding he does not think that all the obstacles have been overcome, in order to carry it into effect, it is a matter of temporary regret to him to be placed in the unpleasant alternative, on opening the preliminary topics of the negotiation, to have to beseech the minister to be pleased to make the Governor and Captain General of the

Provinces acquainted with the purport of the present communication, as otherwise he should consider the secret implicated.

The undersigned has no objection to enter on further discussions, if it should happen that the government is not sensible of the indispensable necessity of the present requisition. This requisition is demanded by the profound indignation of the offended people, and, finally, by public justice, as well as the necessity of rendering the responsibility effective, and ridding the country of the demoralization and bad example of seeing men, whom society views in the light of criminals, descend from the seat of government, without any account being demanded of them for the exercise of their power. The Government of Buenos Ayres is called upon by a point of honour and, as it were, held by its responsibility towards the provinces, to see to the security of persons guilty of acts of arbitrary power. The escape of any one of them, would be the signal of alarm and give rise to numberless just distrusters, and I feel called upon at once to announce to the government of Buenos Ayres, that the disappearance of any one of them, would determine the undersigned to demand his passport, as he should consider any labours he might undertake as fruitless, under the impression that whatever might be said to the Province, empowering him, would be of no avail.

Under this supposition, the undersigned Envoy requires of the Government of Buenos Ayres ;

1st. The security and permanency in the country of every person belonging to the Government that ceased its functions, previous to the 3rd of July.

2nd. In like manner the security of the General of the army and of D^o. Valentín Gomez.

3rd. The collection of documents on which charges may be founded, together with an exact statement of all the branches of the Government, in *statu quo*, for the ensuing Convention.

4th. A formal writing, duly drawn up, on the subject of the present requisition.

The undersigned, in again conveying the assurance of his readiness to give any verbal explanations, requests the minister to duly notify the

same to His Excellency and salutes him with the greatest consideration and respect.

Signed, FRANCISCO IGNACIO BUSTOS.

To D. Manuel Moreno, Minister of the
Government and Foreign relations.

(C.)

PRIVATE.

Buenos Ayres, August 31, 1827.

The private note of the Envoy of the Province of Cordova, dated yesterday, has been the object of serious deliberation to the Government of Buenos Ayres. The latter at once agreed in the justice of rendering effective the responsibility of the individuals, composing the administration, previous to the 3rd of July. It feels, in an equal degree with the authorities whom the Envoy represents, as well as with all the Provinces which have endured so long and scandalous a series of grievances, how important and necessary, it is, that public justice and the dignity of the laws should be satisfied, in the most positive manner. With this view, combining the respect due to the general principles by which it is bound, with the deference it ought to shew to the requisition, contained in the Sr. Envoy's note, and with the observance of the law respecting individual security, which is a sacred and majestic basis of all the rights and a compendium of that system of freedom to which we aspire, it has agreed to answer the Sr. Envoy's note, by promising him, in a solemn manner, that it will cause the most strict vigilance to be observed over the persons who composed the aforesaid administration, as well as General Alvear and D. Valentin Gomez; that permission shall not be granted to them to leave the country, and that, in case they should attempt so to do, report thereof shall be made to the Legislature of the Province, in order that the latter may determine what may be expedient respecting the requisition of the Sr. Envoy; that they shall be placed at the disposal of the Convention, or Congress, which may assemble as soon as the authority thereof has been acknowledged by this Province, and it has been made known to this government that their trial has been determined upon; and that, in the mean while, the antecedents and vouchers which can throw light on the nature of the charges to be preferred, shall go on collecting.

The Province of Buenos Ayres, which has endured great grievances through the conduct of these same individuals, cannot do less than require reparation. Under existing circumstances, the government has not been able to do more than to ordain that a summary and judicial inquiry should be instituted by the army, engaged in the campaign, respecting the criminal conduct attributed to the aforesaid D. Carlos Alvear ; and the minister and secretary who signs the present communication, informs the Sr. Envoy of all the above, for his information and government, &c.

Signed, MANUEL MORENO.

To D. D. Francisco Ignacio Bustos,
Envoy of the Province of Cordova.

(D.)

SECRET AND ADDITIONAL ARTICLES TO THE CONVENTION OF THE
21st OF SEPTEMBER, 1827.

Article 1. In consequence of the express requisition, made on the part of the Province of Cordova, the Government of Buenos Ayres will not allow the departure from the country of the persons who composed the administration, previous to the 3rd of July ; nor of D. Carlos Alvear and D. Valentin Gomez ; and will take care that they appear to answer such charges as may hereafter be preferred against them by the Provinces.

Art. 2. In just deference to the security which the Province of Cordova has demanded, the Government of Buenos Ayres offers to remove those public functionaries who are notoriously prejudicial to the present line of policy, adopted by the Provinces ; and it will take care that the forces are placed under Commanders who, by their principles and conduct, shall inspire confidence and remove from the Province of Cordova and the remaining ones of the ancient Union, those alarming apprehensions of again seeing themselves involved in a civil war, Buenos Ayres, September 21, 1827.

Signed, FRANCISCO IGNACIO BUSTOS.
MANUEL MORENO.

RATIFICATION. We the Governor and Captain General of the Province of Cordova, availing ourselves of the Powers granted to us by the Representatives of the same, in the sitting of the 4th of October, Do hereby ratify the preceding additional Articles, and do approve, in every part, the foregoing Stipulations; for which purpose we have caused the same to be sealed with the arms of the Province and countersigned by our Minister and Secretary. Signed in Cordova, this 7th of October, 1827, seven days after the arrival of our Envoy.

Signed, JUAN BAUTISTA BUSTOS.

JUAN PABLO BULNES.

L. S.

ILLUSTRATIVE DOCUMENTS

RELATING TO THE ASSASSINATION OF COLONEL MANUEL DORREGO, GOVERNOR OF THE PROVINCE OF BUENOS AYRES AND HEAD OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE OF THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC.

LETTER FROM D. LUIS DORREGO, BROTHER OF THE DECEASED GOVERNOR, ADDRESSED TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD PONSONBY, LATE ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTENTIARY OF H. B. M. NEAR THE ARGENTINE REPUBLIC, AND NOW IN THE SAME CHARACTER AT RIO DE JANEIRO.

My Lord,—A trust sacred to me, as well on account of the subject and person referred to, as the peculiar circumstances under which it was confided to me, imposes upon me the paramount duty of addressing the present letter to your Lordship, for the due performance of which I require the collected energies of my mind, so as to be able to convey any

thing like an idea of the horrid event which I am about to sketch, with feelings of the most poignant grief, and under an agony of excruciating pain.

The first Magistrate of the Argentine Republic, Colonel Manuel Dorrego, has ceased to live. On the 13th inst. his blood was shed. The dignity with which he was invested ; the glorious titles to the nation's gratitude, which he had acquired by his unceasing opposition to the abuses of power ; the wounds he received on the field of battle, fighting for his country's independence ; the legality of his appointment, and the equity of his Administration ; the good understanding and harmony which prevailed during the time he was in office, with all the other Provinces constituting the Republic ; the foreign relations with powerful nations, which he had successfully established ; his lenity, as an administrator of the laws ; his generosity towards his enemies—finally, that salutary peace which, under the mediation of Great Britain and through your Lordship's good offices, he restored to his native land ;—all, all, could not suffice to stay the butchering hand of those who were anxious to revel in his blood. These very considerations—powerful as they were, and calculated to excite sympathy in the most callous breast, served rather as so many incentives to urge for his violent and untimely death ; nor did his enemies, even for forms sake, and out of respect to the existing institutions, pause for a moment, or submit a matter of such importance to the test of a trial—an act of justice among us never yet refused to the most abandoned of criminals. This is no unfounded charge—it is, alas ! a melancholy truth. The fact, as here stated, has just occurred ; and, when recorded in history, posterity, as well as the present generation, must sit in judgment upon it, and impartiality will be their guide, unless it were possible for a moment to imagine that the ideas of justice and depravity are confounded, or that the empire of the laws and the abuse of power are synonymous terms.

But my grief hurries me away. This delirium may, however, be deemed pardonable : I will endeavour to collect my thoughts. On the 1st of this month, the first division of the army, which had just reached the capital, on its return from the campaign against the Brazilian empire—that same division for which a triumphal entry was preparing, all in new uniforms, and the men having received part of their arrears of pay, in the mean while that the full estimates were making out, to cover which the funds were already prepared and held disposable—that same division, in a word, which on that very day, the 1st, was to have

partaken of an entertainment intended to be given by the Governor of Buenos Ayres and Chief Magistrate of the Republic, was found drawn up in line in the Square of La Victoria, at day-break, commanded by Colonel Juan Lavalle, who, of himself and thus supported, made known that the Constituted Authorities were set aside and no longer to be obeyed.

My unfortunate brother beheld, in this unexpected movement, the evidence of a military insurrection; the beginning of a civil war, and the most alarming blow aimed at the existing institutions of the country. He also considered that it was the duty of the Supreme Authority to put in motion all the available resources, in order to shield them, and suppress this audacious attempt on the part of an insubordinate and licentious soldiery. In the city, sufficient elements certainly existed; but, they were uncombined—the inhabitants and the Government having been taken by surprise. In so alarming a state of things, it would have been dangerous to assemble them, as numbers must have perished in the attempt. Motives of prudence, therefore, determined the Governor immediately to proceed to the country, which he did, leaving two of his Ministers in the Fortress, together with the few troops, still faithful to the Constituted Authorities.

On the same day, (the 1st) strong parties of the division being scattered about the city and suburbs; the square of La Victoria gleaming with bayonets, lances and sabres, and the inhabitants completely overawed, Lavalle had himself proclaimed Provisional Governor, by a handful of partisans in the church of St. Francis, a short distance from the square, notwithstanding a few moments previously, he had given assurances that he was not in search of power, and would accept no command. Nevertheless, he soon forgot his pledges, and, without the smallest hesitation, assumed the highest authority, thus conferred upon him in a tumultuary manner. The Fortress, in this state of things, yielding to circumstances, declined opposition; and, after this example, the navy also tendered in their adhesion.

The new Governor, Lavalle, soon afterwards proceeded to the country, with all the cavalry of the line, belonging to the 1st division. A Manifesto of the principal officers of the division, expressive of their rights and their determination to deliberate upon them with arms in their hands, was then published. The prospective benefits and evils were not, however, sufficiently balanced in this Manifesto, to render it possible

to form an opinion of the spirit in which this extraordinary movement had been undertaken, and whether it arose from public expediency, or a wish to obtain an undue ascendancy in the State. Time, however, goes on showing, in a manner the most palpable, what in the Manifesto had not been avowed.

The Commandant-General of the militia of the surrounding country, Colonel Juan Emanuel Rosas, had, by this time, joined my unfortunate brother, and placed at his disposal a considerable number of militia, together with a small party of Indians, resolved to support the Authorities under which they were living. The whole of this force, independent of a much larger number of men who, from considerable distances, and even from the city itself, were spontaneously marching on to incorporate themselves with the loyal troops, presented a heavy and unwieldy mass, entirely destitute of discipline. In their march towards the town of Navarro, from twenty-five to thirty leagues distant from Buenos Ayres, that unavoidable and fatal rencontre took place, on the 9th instant, in which fortune and some accidents proved favourable to Lavalle.

There still remained, towards the North, a small division which, previous to the 1st of December, had been sent out to act against the hostile Indians. My brother trusted that this corps would continue faithful to the constituted Authorities, conformably to the pledges of the principal officers, and without entertaining the least apprehension of their infidelity, after the misfortune which occurred on the 9th, he proceeded on towards the position occupied by this division, with a view to place himself at the head of it, confident of its support. In his retreat, he reached an estate of mine, about 50 leagues distant from the capital, where, jointly with myself, he heard powerful reasons to induce him to think that he could rely on the subordination of the men and officers whom we were about to join. True, it is, that some persons put him on his guard, and told him not to be too confident; but my brother's heart was devoid of guile. At dusk, in the evening of the 10th, he set out, accompanied by myself, for the encampment, distant about two leagues. On his arrival, and whilst holding a conference with the Commandant of the Division, Colonel Angel Pacheco, a mutiny was excited by Colonel Bernardino Escrivano, among the troops, at the head of whom he placed himself, and immediately arrested us, as well as the lawful commander of this corps. From that moment, the treatment which my brother and myself began to experience was the most outrageous and brutal that possibly can be imagined. We were then

led on, amidst numerous precautions, and under a heavy guard, apparently towards Buenos Ayres ; but, at a certain point, we were given to understand, that the "Delegated Government" had directed that we were to go to Lavalle's camp, who still continued at Navarro.

From that moment, as if the book of fate had been open to him, our victim became convinced that the sacrifice was resolved upon. In this critical situation, my brother did not turn his painful thoughts on his orphan children, who were about to be deprived of a parent ; his country was paramount to all other considerations, and to its welfare all his cares were devoted. The Argentine Republic, and its character abroad, absorbed the whole of his solicitude. Then, it was, that he imposed upon me the imperious duty of informing your Lordship, in his name, of the awful situation in which he was placed ; and, above all, he enjoined me to implore your Lordship not to be so severe as to judge of our national character, by the dreadful event that was about to take place. He never could have thought that the Republic and Buenos Ayres could have acquiesced in his death, and much less in the inhuman manner in which he was dragged to an untimely end, without any other formality than a simple mandate ; yet he still hoped that mediators of high character would interpose, as, in fact, they did ; but the result was such as we unhappily had cause to deplore, and time only can explain the reasons of their failure.*

He proudly called to mind the intimate relations which he had maintained with your Lordship, and felt a complacency in the recollection of your Lordship having powerfully aided him, by your character and good offices, to prepare the greatest benefit it is possible to confer on a country—external peace. My brother was anxious that your Lordship should be circumstantially made acquainted with all the particulars of the fatal destiny which awaited him, and he derived consolation from the confident hope that the prayer, which he was then addressing to your Lordship would be graciously received, whom he implored "to shield,

* The mediators who interceded that nothing should be attempted against the life of Governor Dorrego, were, Mr. Woodbine Parish, Consul General and Chargé d'Affaires of H. B. M. ; Colonel Forbes, Chargé d'Affaires of the United States, and M. Mandeville, Consul General of France. Their humane and respectable interposition was disregarded. ED.

as much as possible, the credit of the Republic and Buenos Ayres, and save both from the foul stain about to be cast upon their history, by those who were hastening to shed his blood."

This, my Lord, is the painful duty I was commissioned to discharge. On the 13th, three or four leagues from the town of Navarro, I was informed, that I was no longer a prisoner, and consequently must withdraw. Our separation then took place, and the illustrious victim was hurried on to Lavalle's quarters, and a very few hours afterwards the sad catastrophe was performed. Grief overcomes me !

The Governor, elected by the city of Buenos Ayres, conformably to the laws—the chief Magistrate, commissioned by all the provinces to administer the general affairs of the Republic—the man whose existence was identified with the history of his country's independence ; who began to serve among the founders of another State ;* who presented himself in Buenos Ayres, his native town, at the head of a body of volunteers, formed in another republic, as a reward for his services, and equiped out of his own private fortune ;—this devoted patriot, one of the firmest pillars of freedom ; one of the most deserving of his country's gratitude ; the brave defender of the South American cause, as long as the power of Spain was an object of dread ;—this enlightened champion among freemen, was, in short, at the age of between 41 and 42 years, shot at Navarro, by virtue of a mere military order ! Such an act might have been expected from the Turkish Divan ! Alas ! what an alarming contrast does this most awful event present to the motives, alleged for the military insurrection of the 1st inst.

It remains for me solely to add that, to the very last, he was true to his character. He neither dreaded, nor contemned the death before his eyes. When he was ordered to prepare to die, his first answer was—tell General Lavalle that, if the Province has no laws"—here he paused—"no ; tell him only that the Governor and Captain-General of the Province of Buenos Ayres and the chief Magistrate, entrusted with the general affairs of the Republic, has been duly informed of the General's order." He wrote more in the single hour, granted to him for his preparation, than another could have done in a longer time, at his ease ;

* Governor Dorrego first joined the army in Chili, where he was pursuing his studies, when the Revolution broke out. ED.

and, when the last moment came, he expired like one worthy of the post which he had held—filled with valour and serenity. At the funeral rites, which I had performed for him on the 19th, as a private individual, no one was specially invited; yet Buenos Ayres never beheld so vast a concourse of all classes and both sexes; nor was consternation ever before so strongly depicted on the countenances of an assembled multitude.

I have now, my Lord, complied with the trust confided to me by my illustrious brother. Amidst the affliction and mourning in which an unhappy family is plunged, allow me to offer to your Lordship our sincere respects, as well as the assurances of esteem and consideration with which I remain your Lordship's obedient servant,

LUIS DORREGO.

COPY OF A LETTER FROM THE SAME TO WOODBINE PARISH, ESQ.
H. B. M. CHARGÉ D'AFFAIRES AND CONSUL-GENERAL, AT BUENOS
AYRES.

Buenos Ayres, Dec. 29, 1829.

Sir,—If to any other than yourself, or one who happened not to have been in Buenos Ayres on the inauspicious day of the 1st instant, I was addressing the present Letter, I should have to undergo the painful mortification of describing an occurrence, the bare recollection of which drives me to despair and rends my aching heart. But, I consider that you are well aware what that day really was, as also the following ones, and I can plead this as an excuse for not entering into details. The annexed letter besides contains what I omit, in this, and may supply the place of any additional remarks from which I am thereby relieved.

My unfortunate brother, for having maintained his post, as Governor and Captain-General of the Province, and as the Head of the Republic, was basely delivered up and dragged to execution, without having been able to obtain that which is not refused even to the most infamous criminals. When we parted, having a presentiment that he was about to be led to death, I received from his own mouth an injunction to write to the Honourable Lord Ponsonby and yourself, his relations with whom were fresh upon his mind, and remembered with the warmest esteem and the highest consideration.

“Mr. Parish,” said he to me, “must have known that the people of Buenos Ayres are not ferocious, and that the Republic has no part whatever in my sacrifice. Beseech him, in my name,” did he add, “to do every thing in his power to prevent an opinion being formed of the Argentine people, from the horrid catastrophe which is about to happen,” and which, in fact, did so happen, on the 13th instant, very few hours after our separation for ever. “From Mr. Parish’s knowledge it cannot be hidden,” did he further say, “that in the moment of violent convulsions, the most unjust and injudicious acts are committed, and even the most enormous crimes perpetrated ; but, that neither the Argentine people have any complaints against me ; nor is it they who have raised the hue and cry ; nor is their character cruel. Buenos Ayres did not decree my death ; the inhabitants, doubtless, will bewail it, and when the rest of the Republic hear of it, scarcely will they be able to recover from their surprise, unless it is to be struck with fresh dismay. Would to God ! that, in my grave, may be buried in oblivion those fatal passions which appear disposed to desolate our country ! Would to God ! that the Supreme Being, who presides over the destinies of nations, may allow of no more victims than myself, and disperse those meetings, lavish of human blood.”*

In the excruciating agony by which I am overpowered, and when even to speak may be deemed dangerous, I cannot suffer the blood of my unfortunate brother to turn cold, before I have complied with his last wishes. May Mr. Parish be pleased kindly to admit the request of an illustrious victim, by forwarding the inclosed to its address, in the mean while that anguish falls to my lot ; and joining in the assurance of my regard and particular esteem, I am, &c.

(Signed) LUIS DORREGO.

LETTER FROM THE SAME TO COLONEL JOHN FORBES, THE UNITED STATES CHARGÉ D’AFFAIRES, AT BUENOS AYRES.

Buenos Ayres, Dec. 29, 1828.

Sir,—Previous to the administration of Colonel Manuel Dorrego, and during the period he held authority, you were acquainted with him ; and

* Lodges held in Buenos Ayres for political purposes, and which had been transplanted to the army. Tr.

you were also in this capital when the insurrection of the 1st instant broke out, as well as when one of those great blows were struck which, in the heat of powerful revolutions, not only carry terror and dismay to the stoutest heart and fill the reflecting mind with horror, but also endanger the life and preservation of the State. You, in short, cannot be ignorant, that through one of those measures which characterize certain periods in which nations are sometimes placed, and fix the attention of posterity, doubtless, more just than the present generation, that man has just disappeared from the earth, whose name was inscribed on the glorious pages of the history of our Republic; whose blood and patrimony were lavished on behalf of his country, ever since the year when the cry of freedom was first raised, and who, in the most difficult and perilous moments, being through his own merits a second time raised to the first magistracy of the Province, gave to the Republic an honourable peace, and to the Oriental Province a new existence. Your residence in this capital relieves me from the necessity of entering into details which my feelings would scarcely allow me to trust to paper. For this reason, I shall at once proceed to perform the duty imposed upon me by a sacred trust, confided to me by my unfortunate brother, on whose behalf your mediation and that of other respectable friends of humanity proved fruitless. He and myself being led on prisoners towards Buenos Ayres, from the moment we arrived at a certain point of the road, and he found he was going to Lavalle's camp, who was still at Navarro, the Governor and Captain-General of this Province and Head of the Argentine Republic foresaw that they were dragging him on to execution. About four leagues from the spot where death was inflicted upon him, I was set at liberty and told to withdraw. Previous to our eternal separation, and on the 13th, the very day on which he was executed, his whole conversation was worthy of the post which he held. Neither the din of those arms which were about to be turned against his own person; the treachery through which his seizure had been effected, nor the outrages by which it was aggravated, depressed his spirits, for a single instant. "I enjoin you," said he to me, "to write Mr. Forbes in my name, not to judge of the Argentine people by the horrid catastrophe that is about to take place. Beseech him, most earnestly, to admit the prayer which I send him to shield, as much as he can, the credit of our country from the stain that is about to be cast on the pages of its history, by those who are about to shed my blood."

We took leave. The victim was hurried on to where Señor Lavalle was, and there, a few hours after his arrival, without being allowed

what among us is granted to the very last—even the most abandoned of criminals, the leaden balls which had respected his life during so many battles, fought for our independence and the dignity of the Republic, soon left the illustrious sufferer a lifeless corpse, stretched neglected on the ground.

It is out of my power to proceed. It will suffice that I have fulfilled the last trust of my unfortunate brother. His days were terminated by the simple mandate of a military order, possibly agreed upon in one of those secret meetings—meetings seemingly of more power, in their clandestine deliberations, than the laws themselves, and the respectable mediation which you and others timely interposed.

Even how to die, did he leave behind him lessons of serenity and firmness. On its being intimated to him that he was to prepare for death; “tell General Lavalle,” said he, “that if the Province of Buenos Ayres has no laws; but no”—he paused—“tell him only that the Governor and Captain-General of Buenos Ayres and he one charged with the general affairs of the Republic, is duly made acquainted with the General’s order.”

You, Sir, are a Republican, a son of that Republic which is the true model of freedom, and you will well know how to value this instance of energy. You will also be pleased to receive this letter, as if it had been written by one who no longer exists, since it is he who recommends the contents to you, from the spot where his mangled remains now rest in peace. I am overcome. I can add no more, than to offer you assurance of my respect and the warmest consideration, with which I remain, Sir, &c.

(Signed)

LUIS DORREGO.

LETTERS OF THE UNFORTUNATE GOVERNOR TO HIS FAMILY, WRITTEN
A FEW MOMENTS BEFORE HIS EXECUTION.

TO HIS WIFE.

“My dearest Angelita,—At this moment they have intimated to me that I am to die; I do not know why; but Divine Providence, in whom

at this critical moment I place my trust, has so willed it. I pardon all my enemies, and request my friends not to take any steps whatsoever to avenge the treatment received by me.

“ My dearest life, educate our amiable children, since it has been thy lot not to live any longer happy in company of thy unfortunate

“ MANUEL DORREGO.”

TO HIS DAUGHTERS.

“ My dearest daughter, Angelita,—I forward to you a ring, as a keepsake from your unfortunate father,

“ MANUEL DORREGO.”

“ My dearest daughter, Isabel,—I return you the braces which you made for your unfortunate father,

“ MANUEL DORREGO.”

“ Be a Catholic and virtuous—this is the religion that consoles me at this moment.”

TO HIS FRIEND, DON MANUEL JOSE AZCUENAGA.

“ My friend, and through you to all my friends,—Within an hour they have notified to me that I am to die ; I do not know why ; Divine Providence has so willed it. Adieu, my good friends, and ever remember your

“ MANUEL DORREGO.”

“ P. S. At this moment, the Catholic religion is my only consolation.”

TO HIS NEPHEW, Sr. D. FORTUNATO MIRO.

“ My dear Nephew,—I request you to arrange my affairs with Angela, if any thing is left for that unfortunate being to subsist upon. Receive the last adieus of your uncle.

Signed, MANUEL DORREGO.*

* The following are copies of the original letters.

“ Mi querida Angelita—En este momento me intiman que dentro de una bora debo morir ; ignoro porque, mas la Providencia divina, en la cual confio en este momento critico, asi lo hà querido. Perdono à todos mis enemigos, y suplico à mis amigos que no dén paso alguno an dèsa-gravio de lo recibido por mi.

Several memorandums follow, respecting his domestic affairs, and among them is the following remarkable one.

“ Out of the one hundred thousand dollars which the State owes me, in public funds, you will only receive (he is addressing his wife) two thirds, and the remainder you will leave to the State.”

This was a reward which the Province of Buenos Ayres decreed to him, for having concluded the Treaty of Peace with the Empire of Brazil, and of it Lavalle's government has since ordered his family to be deprived.

These memorandums conclude with the following words, addressed to his widow.

“ Mi vida ; educa á esas amables criaturas, séd feliz, ya que no lo has podido ser en compania del desgraçado

“ MANUEL DORREGO.”

A sus hijas.

“ Mi querida Angelita—Te acompano esa sortija, para memoria de tu desgraçado Padre

“ MANUEL DORREGO.”

“ Mi querida Isabel—Te devuelvo los tiradres que hicistes a tu infortunado Padre

“ MANUEL DORREGO.”

“ Séd Catolica y virtuosa, que es la religion que me consuela en este momento.”

M. S. Don Miguel Jose Azcuenaga.

“ Mi amigo, y por V. a todos— Dentro de una hora me intiman debo morir, ignoro porque ; la Providencia asi lo ha querido. A Dios, mis buenos Amigos, acuerdense Vms de su

“ MANUEL DORREGO.”

“ P. S. En este momento la Religion Catolica es mi unico consuelo.”

A su Sobrino, Sr. D. Fortunato Miro.

“ Mi apreciado Sobrino.—Te suplico arregles mis cuentas con Angela, por si algo le toca para vivir á esa desgraçada. Recive el adios de tu tio,

“ MANUEL DORREGO.”

“My life—order funeral obsequies to be performed for me, without any parade,” another proof that he dies in the religion of his forefathers, “who is thy ever,

“MANUEL DORREGO.”

In the United Service Journal and Naval and Military Magazine, of the 1st of June, 1829, are the following particulars, headed,

“THE LAST HOURS OF DORREGO.

“This chieftain was at the head of the Buenos Ayrean government. A general, named Lavalle, headed an insurrection against him, and compelled him and his party to leave the city. He was pursued, and the opposing faction coming up with his rear, an action ensued, in which Dorrego was defeated. A few days afterwards, he was taken by surprise, and carried to his enemy.

“Upon his arrival at Navarro, the head quarters of General Lavalle, an officer was sent to him to say, that he was to be shot in an hour, by command of General Lavalle. In reply, he sent a message to the General to say, that he considered himself under the protection of the laws, and demanded to be tried by them. The officer came back, and said, that General Lavalle considered Don Manuel Dorrego, to be *out of the pale of the law*, (*fuera de la ley*) that his execution would take place in an hour, and that he would do well to employ it in leaving any written directions he wished, as to his affairs. Dorrego answered, (*muy bueno*) ‘very well!’ He then wrote the following letters:” (These letters are printed above.)

“Having written these, he desired to see a priest. One had already been sent for, but he proved to be a near relation of Dorrego’s, and was so overcome with grief, that Dorrego was forced to comfort him, instead of receiving his assistance.

“He then said he wished to see Colonel la Madrid, who came to him immediately. He reminded him of their old friendship, and that they had often been fellow soldiers in former times. He said he hoped he would not refuse his last request, that he would accompany him to the place of execution.

“ Madrid was affected to tears. He said he could not—it was impossible ; he had not the heart to witness the death of his friend.

“ Dorrego then begged him to change jackets with him, and then he said he was ready. They begged him to go in a coach, as it was some distance they had to take him ; but he said no ; he would rather walk.

“ They then moved on, and when he arrived at the place where he was to be shot, he bowed to the officer of the guard who accompanied him. They wished to bandage his eyes, but he begged them not to do so ; and his hour was over !”

All the London papers, at the time expressed themselves in terms of the strongest indignation on the subject of this unlawful, inhuman and bloody deed, and the Morning Herald published the preceding letter from the brother of the late Governor, transmitted to Lord Ponsonby.

It now turns out that Governor Dorrego's death was secretly resolved upon by the revolutionists, from the very moment the military insurrection of the 1st of December commenced, at a secret meeting held by them. When the news arrived of his arrest and that they were conveying him to the city of Buenos Ayres, it was determined that, without entering, he should be taken to Lavalle's camp and there immediately executed, defenceless and untried as he was.

LIST OF THE MEMBERS OF THE SECRET JUNTA THAT DETERMINED
ON DORREGO'S EXECUTION.

D. Julian Segundo de Aguero—a Clergyman and Minister of the government during the Administration of Rivadavia.

Colonel Francisco Fernandez de la Cruz, Minister of War under Rivadavia.

D. Salvador Maria del Carril, a native of San Juan, and Minister of Finance during Rivadavia's Government.

D. Valentin Gomez, a Clergyman, and the noted negociator of the scheme to place the Duke of Lucca on the throne of Buenos Ayres, under French auspices.

E. Zenon Videla, Chief of Police to Rivadavia.

Colonel Ignacio Alvarez y Thomas.

D. Manuel Gallardo, a Lawyer.

D. Juan Cruz Varela, Editor of the *Tiempo*.

William Brown, Admiral and Provisional Governor.

D. José Miguel Diaz Velez, his Minister.

M. Barenenes, a Frenchman, and late Agent of Rivadavia, in Paris, specially to send out Colonists. This foreigner entered the Junta, crying out "death to Dorrego" (*Muera Dorrego*).

Permission was not allowed to bring the late Governor's body to the city, fearful lest some event might happen like what befel Cæsar. The corpse was left, several hours, exposed upon the ground, at Navarro.

The official Report which Lavalley forwarded of the execution, blackens the horrid picture here presented, for, after announcing that it was done by "his orders," he dares to recommend himself to the notice of history. From this insult, offered to public morals, it is to be supposed that the men who directed him, cunningly availed themselves of his ignorance, which, if any thing, is equalled only by his brutality, in order to make him say that the execution was done by his own order, so as hereafter to throw upon him the whole responsibility.

OFFICIAL REPORT OF GENERAL LAVALLEY.

Navarro, Dec. 13, 1828.

Señor Minister,—I hereby inform the delegated Government that Colonel Manuel Dorrego has just been shot, *by my orders*, in front of the regiments composing this division.

History, Señor Minister, will impartially judge whether Colonel Dorrego ought, or not, to have died ; and whether in sacrificing him to the tranquillity of a nation which he had plunged into mourning, I could have been actuated by any other feeling than that of the public good.

I wish the people of Buenos Ayres to be convinced that the death of Colonel Dorrego is the greatest sacrifice I could make on their behalf. I salute the Señor Minister, and remain, with due consideration, &c.

(Signed)

JUAN LAVALLE.

To His Excellency, The Minister of the Government,
D. José Miguel Diaz Velez.

It may here be proper to remark that this blackest of outrages, committed against personal security ; this gross and bloody violation of the laws, and this enormous and glaring crime against humanity, roused the indignation of the several Provinces ; dissolved the Federal Union, existing between them and Buenos Ayres ; gave rise to simultaneous declarations on the part of the local governments, and, in fact, brought an irritated and beseiging army round the city, anxious to avenge the insult offered to the nation at large, and yet, desirous of preserving the property of a number of innocent individuals, unfortunately involved through the acts of a faction, headed by a few restless and ambitious officers. It would be tedious to present translations of all these protests and declarations ; but we will select the most important ones, and head them,

JUDGMENT OF THE PROVINCES.

PROCLAMATION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

Cordova, Dec. 10, 1826.*

Countrymen ! Liberty, that valuable gift that has been bestowed upon us, Americans, and which it has cost us so much blood to acquire, is,

* Consequently, several days previous to Dorrego's death being known. Tr.

at this moment, threatened by a faction, who have conceived that it devolves upon them to command and sell us.

Citizens ! The man who, in Buenos Ayres, presided over the anarchical movement of the 1st instant, is the same who has so often had the hardihood to declare and openly boast that he should *never be satiated with spilling the blood of the Provincials*. This is his avowed feeling and that of the Lodge to which he belongs. Calculate therefore, what kind of happiness these people can dispense to our America ; call to mind the periods when this parricidal faction filled the first stations in the country, and you will then be convinced of what they are capable.

Citizens ! Those who have committed the audacious outrage of throwing down the general government, which had been constituted through the formal expression of the uniform wishes of the Provinces, by placing themselves at the head of the troops whom you had destined to support the honour and preserve the integrity of the Republic, are the same who, in 1814, solicited Charles IV. to afford them a branch of the Bourbon Family, in order that he might reign as a king over us ; they are the same who, in 1815, protested to the Spanish ambassador, at Rio de Janeiro, Count de Casa-Flores, that if they had interfered in the affairs of America, it was for the purpose of better securing the rights of H. C. M. in this quarter ; they are the same who, in 1816, sold us to King John IV. of Portugal ; they are the same who, in 1819, sought to barter us to the Prince of Lucca ; they are, finally, the authors of all the misfortunes which have befallen this part of America, for, when it has not been in their power to rule over us, they have promoted a civil war, from the year 1820, and by the effusion of blood, only, has it been, that they have sustained a government, expressly rejected by the Provinces.

Fellow Countrymen ! If, in the month of September, 1811, when this same faction cast down the government which, amidst enthusiastic joy and gladness, you had instituted, an exemplary punishment had then taught these wretches that they could not trample upon the sacred rights of the people, with impunity, our section of America would not, this day, have to deplore so many misfortunes. From that source issued the fatal stream of all our calamities ; that is the origin of our not being now constituted into a nation, after eighteen years of oscillations and unceasing sacrifices.

Fellow-countrymen ; It is time that justice should occupy the place of mercy ; that the whole world should know that, for eighteen years, you have been the sport of Lodges. Through the benignity of your character, you are also just ; but, you are entitled to avenge so many outrages. Therefore, sustain your rights, if you wish to be free ; punish the wretches who dare to provoke you, and you will then appear in your true dignity, in the eyes of mankind. Numberless proofs have you had of the sacrifices which he is ready to make, for your honour and welfare, who now signs himself your true countryman,

JUAN BAUTISTA BUSTOS.

Cordova, Dec. 10, 1828.

The anarchical insurrection of the 1st instant, headed by General Lavalle, in Buenos Ayres, is a practical lesson of what the Provinces have to expect from that fatal Lodge,* the great object of which, is,

* In this document, as well as in the last words of Governor Dorrego, the existence of that subterranean meeting is denounced, which decrees the destinies of the Government, and pronounces on the lives of the citizens ; a species of Masonry very different from that of the Societies, known by this name, in other parts, and into which men of honour and probity can ask admittance, without a blush. It is revolting to see a Clergyman, like Aguero, and at the same time a Curate, belonging to the Cathedral Church, acting as President of the Star Chamber, which decreed Governor Dorrego's death, and signing his name, with the private mark of that same Lodge, by adding to it M., perfectly visible in the flourish that accompanies his sign manual. The origin of this Lodge is Spanish, and was shipped, to come among us, from Cadiz. Curate Aguero was, besides, the advocate of the Peninsular Monopolists, in 1809, by opposing a Free Trade, in the name of the Cadiz Board of Commerce, in a writing, addressed to Viceroy Cisneros, now before us, and in which, among other absurd arguments, he alleges, " that the English are heretics and would pervert the country, if they were allowed to enter our ports with their merchandize." In 1823, he proposed a previous censure, in the discussions relating to the freedom of the press, in the Legislature of Buenos Ayres. Ed.

the extermination of those beneficent institutions which we had formed for ourselves. Accustomed always to throw the country into a state of conflagration, by resorting to calumnies, intrigues, and other wicked devices, in order to secure to themselves the highest appointments in the Republic, of which they were, over and over again, stripped by public opinion, the members of that secret and pernicious conspiracy were unable patiently to endure the tranquillity which the Provinces were enjoying, and through the medium of which they were tending to constitute themselves under that form of government, deemed best suited to their position and circumstances.

Availing themselves of the very same men whom the Provinces had devoted to the support of a national war, they have usurped the rights of all, by stripping Colonel Manuel Dorrego, not only of the government of the Province of Buenos Ayres, of which an armed and insubordinate force never could be a competent organ, but also of the attributes of the National Executive, with which the Provinces had invested him, and who had faithfully corresponded to the confidence which they had placed in him, as is proved by the Convention of the 27th of last August.

This event is, doubtless, the first signal of a civil war. Determined that the Provinces shall have no will of their own, they pull down every thing that had been built up by them, by invariably sustaining, with the greatest vigour and without sparing means, the work of their own hands. Numerous examples might be offered to the consideration of your Excellency, the Governor, to whom the undersigned addresses himself, if a practical knowledge had not made us all severally acquainted with the results. It will suffice to call to mind the quantity of American blood that was spilled, in order to sustain President Rivadavia, whose permanency at the head of affairs was reproved by the Provinces. Compare all these facts with the event that has given occasion to the present communication, and the tendency of the proceedings of these men will be made apparent, who evidently, encouraged by the impunity that attended former deeds of a similar kind, have been led on eagerly to undertake others likely to favour their aspiring views.

The undersigned considers it his duty to submit so remarkable an event to the consideration of the Governor of Santa Fé, in order that, sensible of the necessity of watching over the tranquillity of his Province, as well as the general peace and welfare of the Republic, he may

place himself on his guard against the hostile attacks with which these men, who by means of an armed force, have already succeeded in wresting the government from the hands of him to whom it had been legally confided, seek to invert the order established throughout the whole extent of this Republic.

The undersigned Members of the Government avail themselves of this opportunity to renew to His Excellency the Governor, the assurance of that respect and high consideration with which they are, &c.

Signed, JUAN BAUTISTA BUSTOS
 JUAN PABLO BULNES.

To His Excellency, The Governor and Captain General
of the Province of Santa Fé, &c.

DECLARATION OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCE OF SANTA FÉ.

GENERAL LOPEZ TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BUENOS AYRES.

December 30, 1828.

The undersigned Governor and Captain General of the Province of Santa Fé, has received a communication, addressed to him, under date of the 13th instant, by Sr. D. José Miguel Diaz Velez, as Minister and Secretary General of the provisional government of the Province of Buenos Ayres, in which he informs him of the change that had there taken place, on the 1st instant, the result of which was, that D. Juan Lavalle, a General of the armies of the Republic, had been named Provisional Governor, by the unanimous wishes of the citizens, and the government afterwards delegated to D. William Brown, Admiral of the national squadron.

Whatever may be the propriety with which the Sr. Secretary calls the tumultuary and disorderly meeting of a few persons, assembled in a church,* the unanimous wishes of the citizens of a Province, like that

* On the morning of the 1st of December, the troops, who had just arrived from serving on the Eastern Bank, were drawn up in line by

of Buenos Ayres ; notwithstanding the undersigned is unceasingly receiving positive information that the great majority bitterly reprove the change of the 1st instant, and although the motives alleged in the Manifesto of the 5th, appear, in some respects, futile, and, in others, calumniously false, the Governor of Santa Fé would confine the whole of his interference, in this affair, to his acknowledging the receipt of the communication above alluded to, if he did not find himself under the disagreeable necessity of answering it, by a most solemn requisition. If this Manifesto of the provisional government did not atrociously outrage his own honour ; if the fresh resolutions, entered into by the gentlemen who sign it and at the present moment rule in Buenos Ayres, did not trample upon the respect due to the Province over which he presides, and if the change of the 1st, did not wear another character, very distinct from that which the Sr. Secretary attributes to it, the undersigned would have observed a profound silence.

It is indeed most singular that the note, to which reply is herein made, does not express that the movement alluded to was effected by a division of the national army and against the supreme head of the Republic, entrusted with the direction of the war and foreign relations. This is the point that most interested the Provinces to know, and the Governor of Santa Fé has not been able to look at that event, in any other point of view. Hence, is it that, from the moment he received the note of His Excellency, Sr. Dn. Manuel Dorrego, in which, from Las Canuelas, under date of the 2nd, he informed him of the insurrection of the national troops, demanding of him his cooperation, in order to make them sensible of their duty, and enjoining him, for the very same purposes, to communicate the event to the other Provinces, the undersigned, as the Head of one of them which acknowledged in His Excellency the National Authority, and in the character of a General of

Lavalle, in the main square, and after the government being overthrown, his partisans and the rabble assembled in the church of St. Francis, contiguous to the square, where the troops were still under arms, and there, without any other formality, Lavalle was declared Provisional Governor, and, as such, assumed the functions of the government. After the nomination was over, the troops proceeded to their quarters ; but, so alarmed were the principal inhabitants of the city, the only theatre of the exploit above alluded to, that they remained tranquil at home ; or, were silent spectators of what was passing. ED.

the Republic, did not hesitate, a moment, to answer the appeal made to him. He at once placed the forces, of which he could dispose, subject to the orders of the General Government, and forwarded to the other Provinces the details of so remarkable an occurrence as that which had just happened. In this sense, he, at that time, acted, in support of the legitimate authority, and in the same would he this day act, if a fresh crime had not left the nation without a leader and a head. There is now no longer any national authority to support, *de facto* ; but, there are enormous injuries inflicted on the Province of Santa Fé ; injuries which its depositaries of power cannot fail to visit on the heads of those who forcibly assumed to themselves the Government of Buenos Ayres.

It is public and notorious that the first division of the national army, just arrived from the war in the Oriental Provinces, was the exclusive instrument that effected the change, to which the Sr. Secretary's report alludes ; and it is also well ascertained that neither the troops, composing the garrison of Buenos Ayres, nor the local militia, replaced by that same division, took any part whatsoever in the deed. The national troops alone were concerned in this outrage ; they alone committed this criminal act against the particular institutions of one of the Provinces, as well as against the Supreme Government under whose authority they bore arms. The General and officers who headed them, on this ignominious occasion, are highly responsible for the shameful abuse of the power they exercised over an armed force, principally composed of men sent forward by the Provinces in order to defend the rights of the nation. Hence, have those same rights been outraged by the very army, destined to protect and defend them. From the time when the several Provinces first delegated their national powers and concentrated them in the person of Sr. Dorrego, Governor of Buenos Ayres ; from the moment his own Province consented to this delegation, and to it joined her own, from that period, do I contend, she and the rest viewed and respected, in the person of the Goveanor of Buenos Ayres, the provisional Head of the Republic. From that moment, therefore, the Republic alone could strip its general representative of the national authority conferred upon him. General Lavalle, by divesting him of that trust, by ordering him to be shot, and then placing himself in the very seat ; by him before legally filled, clearly has violated the respect and consideration due to the several and collective Provinces. That of Santa Fé, therefore, now demands of him an account of all this. She wishes to be satisfied as to the motives which induced General Lavalle to strip Governor Dorrego of the national powers with which he was invested,

by purposely exciting a sedition in that very army, acting under the orders of a supreme chief; in this manner subverting, to an extreme that it would not now be easy to calculate, the order provisionally established, and under which the Republic was proceeding on to a more regular system of organization, and thus leaving it without a head, as well as endangering that honourable preliminary Treaty of peace, wrested from the Brazilian empire, during the administration und through the efforts of Sr. Dorrego. The government of Santa Fé, above all, wishes to know the powerful and urgent reasons which General Lavalle had to cause his own supreme chief, as well as of the whole Republic, to be shot, by his own orders.

The undersigned Governor also expects to be informed to what national purpose the armies and squadron of the Republic have been since applied; who command them, and with what powers; as well as the state of the foreign relations, who administers them, and under what authority.

But, General Lavalle, the provisional Governor of Buenos Ayres, far from hitherto satisfying the Provinces as to the conduct he pursued on the 1st and subsequent days of the present month, dares to insult them afresh in his Manifesto of the 5th, and also to calumniate his superiors in a base and revolting manner. That of Santa Fé is roused to indignation, by the arrogant threats and accusations which this document puts forth, and her Governor certainly will not tolerate them. If the officer who at present rules over Buenos Ayres, had confined himself to the imputation of illegality against those governments which surrounded Sr. Dorrego, at the time of the suppression of the Oriental Junta, the ridiculousness of the reproach would render it unnecessary to make the present appeal; but, it comes accompanied by other serious charges, and the Manifesto in itself seems framed expressly to wound the feelings of the Provinces at large, as well as of the individuals presiding over them. "After the Oriental Legislature had been dispersed," it says, "this Province, like the rest, remained subjected to the caprice of its chieftain." The Province of Santa Fé, in which the Legislative and Judicial Powers are exercised independently of the Executive, in the phrase above quoted, is described as a group of slaves, submissive to the voice of a master, and she demands satisfaction for this infamous charge. She wishes to know the acts which justify so unwarrantable an allegation, so offensive to her character, and what are the reasons which

actuated the Government of Buenos Ayres to pronounce an opinion against her first Magistrate, in so hostile a sense.

The provisional government of Buenos Ayres carries its audacious insults to the extreme of attributing to the Provinces and their constituted authorities, a participation in those robberies and that delapidation of the provincial treasure which it imputes to Sr. Dorrego. "From the period this citizen took charge of the Government," does the Manifesto set forth, "the people of Buenos Ayres, who had always been a model to the rest, became a prize, distributed among all; the public revenue was destined to enrich the governments of the Provinces; our treasure was continually laid out in the purchase of metallic money, to be sent to the governors of the others, without our having seen, up to the present moment, the result of any of these sacrifices." The Governor of Santa Fé would be unworthy of the people over whom he presides, and even of associating with upright men, if he did not demand of the ruler of Buenos Ayres a declaration, as public and solemn as the Manifesto itself, of those sums with which Sr. Dorrego enriched him, at the expence of the Treasury of Buenos Ayres; a statement of the metallic monies which have been remitted, and of which the result has not been made known.

Strength, Sr. Secretary, confers no right to defame, in this manner, and the man of honour is at all times warranted in avenging offences of such a kind, or perishing in the attempt. The Governor of Santa Fé has, in truth received metallic money, for the purpose of equipping and paying the army of the North, which he had the honour to command in chief; but, the result of this service has been as public, as that peace was glorious to which this same expedition so greatly contributed;* as

* By means of this force, the towns, composing the Missions, were conquered and regained from the Emperor; a service that never could be effected by the bloody government of Rivadavia, at all times more stirring in the civil, than the external war; and by this means also was Brazil more strongly induced to sue for peace. This advantage was universally felt in Buenos Ayres, and it is only an act of justice rendered to the Governor of Santa Fé, now to repeat the fact, as, two months after the peace was concluded, the intrusive rulers of Buenos Ayres had the bad faith to seek to tarnish the merit thereby acquired. In that same expedition, General Rivera, whom Rivadavia had declared a traitor, served with distinction. ED.

public, as it is that the latter months of pay were never furnished to the contingent of his own Province, and that the undersigned has therein been compelled to negotiate a loan for the payment of this very debt, which still presses on the national treasury.

The Province of Santa Fé, after being involved in the injuries and outrages, inflicted upon all, by the events which happened on the 1st instant and the subsequent Manifesto, has been specially insulted by the provisional authority of Buenos Ayres. The undersigned Governor has further learnt, in a manner, deserving of full credit, that the Secretary-General has communicated to the deputies of Buenos Ayres, appointed to the national Legislature, orders to withdraw. Whatever may have been the causes which led to this resolution, it must be taken as a manifest contempt of the Treaty, concluded in this city on the 2nd of October, in last year, by the Commissioners of the respective governments, and competently ratified by both authorities. By the 5th Article, the two Provinces are bound to send forward two deputies to the National Assembly, which was to be held here, or, in such other place as the majority of the Provinces might determine. This Assembly actually opened on the 25th of September, and the members still remain collected in this city. In consequence whereof, the Government of Santa Fé trusts that the Authorities of Buenos Ayres will revoke the aforesaid order; or else, at once and according to the usual forms, put an end to the Treaty, for this purpose explaining the causes which justify the act. This Government does not go so far as to suspect that the authorities of Buenos Ayres will deem it humiliating to be required to fulfil engagements, of the most solemn and sacred kind.

Such are the complaints which the Province of Santa Fé feels herself fully warranted in instituting against the Authorities of Buenos Ayres. If the undersigned acted from mere caprice, or allowed himself to be led away by the impulse of a noble passion, possibly, he might have been urged on to resort to the last resource; but, he hopes to obtain, by means of this formal requisition, the explanations and the adoption of such measures as may satisfy the honour of his Province. Should this hope be frustrated, he will then avail himself of the means afforded to him by the 6th Article of the Convention of the 25th of January, 1822, agreed upon in the Quadrilateral Congress, held in this city, between the Province of Buenos Ayres, Corrientes, Entre Rios and Santa Fé. The undersigned believes that the government of Buenos Ayres will, in that case, send forward its representative; but, if the contrary should

happen, or the conferences are not attended with a satisfactory result, the government of Santa Fé will, in that case, reluctantly feel itself obliged to sustain the dignity of the Province, in the only manner that may be left.

The undersigned Governor salutes the Sr. Minister, to whom he addresses himself.

Signed. ESTANISLAO LOPEZ.

To the Minister and Secretary-General of the
Provincial Government of Buenos Ayres.

On no one of these points was the smallest satisfaction offered, or obtained, and Governor Lopez resolved to resort to the only expedient left, in order to put down the faction which had gained forcible possession of the capital, dissolved the Union, and spread general alarm throughout the country. With this view, he assembled the disposable troops under his immediate command, and sent off requisitions for aid to the other Provinces. He had previously been informed by Rosas, Commander of the district Militia, under date of the 12th (December) that, after the battle of the 9th, which proved so fatal to Dorrego's fortunes, the several corps under his orders had dispersed and taken various directions; but could easily be re-assembled, as soon as they had a leader and a cause to fight for; observing, nevertheless, that they were destitute of arms and supplies, the great cause of their late misfortune. Governor Lopez made the best arrangements he could, under the pressure of the moment, and advanced towards Buenos Ayres; at the same time ordaining Rosas to form a separate division of Militia and Indians, in order to support his own movements. Lavalle, seeing himself threatened with an early attack, and anxious to prevent the junction of the two chieftains, marched direct against Governor Lopez, trusting chiefly to the superiority of his cavalry and the experience and discipline of his infantry. The Santa Fé troops, however, for the moment, evaded a rencontre, by pursuing an unusual route, and proceeded direct towards the capital. This movement compelled Lavalle to retrace his steps; but, on the 26th of April, meeting the Provincials at a place called Luxan, 12 leagues to the Westward of Buenos Ayres, he experienced a complete defeat, and found himself compelled to with-

draw to the city, being no longer able to act on the offensive. Governor Lopez quietly continued his march, and issued the following proclamation, dated, Head Quarters, Bridge of Marquez, April 28, 1829.

“Inhabitants of Buenos Ayres ! On treading the territory of your Province, I made known the causes of the present war, and without calumniating the enemies of the Republic, who hold a despotic sway over you, I exhibited the documents which clearly prove, that General Lavalle alone is answerable for the blood that is about to flow. The writers whom this General gained over to his own interests, have undertaken to express his opinions, for he observes the silence of desperate men, whilst the only answer he makes to us, is, that we are assassins and malefactors. They have published that, by our orders and by us, such crimes are committed as, in all wars, are perpetrated only by the wicked and the lawless ; or those who resort to such acts, as a means of indulging in greater excesses. Hence have they been able to seduce a few foreigners, so as to have their support, and enable them the better to overawe a part of the inhabitants of the city, who, following the wishes of the nation, are their first enemies, and ready to rise up against them. When the voice of a small number of intriguers, the only one that is heard among them, upbraids us for atrocities which we have come to punish, silence on my part would be misplaced. Possibly, some of the inhabitants of the Southern districts have punished, with too severe a hand, the acts of violence of which they had previously been made the victims ; but, what were they to do when they beheld prisoners shot ; when Colonel Rauch put them to the sword, without any discrimination ; when Colonel Estomba bound them to the mouth of his cannon, in order to blow their mangled remains through the air ; when, with his own hand, he killed some of the unfortunate people who fell into his power, and when General Lavalle himself orders a whole family, at the bridge of Marquez, to be shot, merely because he found his enemies’ cockade upon them !

“Inhabitants of Buenos Ayres ! Where is the crime in these unhappy beings refusing to submit to barbarian leaders, like these ? Such is their civilization, and such their principles ! No ; we are not highwaymen ; we have undertaken to bring that army back to its duty, which broke out into open rebellion, last December, and to deliver over to the tribunals those who murdered D. Manuel Dorrego, the depositary of the general command. I do not blame you ; we all know each other ; my words will only affect those who, in their own consciences, have reason

to dread our coming. Some foreigners, however, have been unmindful of their duty, and become the instruments of oppression. We know well what we owe to the subjects of foreign nations, and what they owe to us. The whole rigour of the war will fall upon those who wield arms against us; and we will bear them in mind, unless they quit the ignominious position which they have assumed.

“Inhabitants of Buenos Ayres! On the 26th, the haughty pride of your tyrant was at an end. Have a government of your own, formed by yourselves, and my mission closes. That your prosperity may revive, is the most ardent wish of

“Signed, ESTANISLAO LOPEZ.”

Governor Lopez, on one side, and General Rosas, on another, advanced and took up positions in the neighbourhood of the capital; by this means cutting off supplies from the interior. Their great object seemed to be, to spare the destruction of property and the effusion of blood, by rousing the inhabitants to a sense of the perilous and degraded situation in which they were placed, and convincing Lavalle and his partisans of the impracticability of their designs, as well as the consequences of their obstinacy. Lavalle and his abettors, chiefly composed of place-hunters and men who had nothing to lose, had, in the meanwhile, excited the prejudices and national pride of the Portenians, by reminding them of the degradation that would fall upon them, if they submitted to the Provincials, whom they designated by the name of the *Montoneras*. The press was also kept actively at work, and all the disposable funds laid out in encouraging the preparations for defence. The streets, opening to the country, were intrenched, and Lavalle's operations confined to cover the town. In this state of things, a correspondence took place between him and Governor Lopez, for the purpose of coming to some arrangement, in the course of which it turned out that, independent of the character of Governor of Santa Fé, the latter had been appointed “Commander in Chief of the Army destined to sustain the cause of the nation and its rights,” by the General Delegates of the Provinces, assembled in the last-mentioned city. This correspondence was attended by no beneficial result; both parties retaining their respective positions. Lavalle, in the interval, endea-

voured to spread terror and alarm among the inhabitants, by resorting to all kinds of base expedients, which gave rise to the following proclamation of General Rosas.

“ May 8th, 1829.

“ Portenians, countrymen, and foreigners, falsely deluded ! The undersigned General deeply deplores the spilling of American blood, without any other cause than the caprice of a few ungrateful men, who seem to have no other object in view than the devastation of that country in which we were born and educated.

“ Do not, countrymen ! be so unjust as to believe me your scourge, as that band of sanguinary usurpers seek to represent me ; but, a townsman—a friend and a commander, who has only at heart the welfare of Buenos Ayres and her sons ; one who is interested in the cause that has cost us so much blood, and does not seek to injure the deluded. He may impose by his forces ; but, his only wish is to reestablish public order.

“ Be assured that he will respect your persons, opinions and properties, as well as every thing else that is held sacred in society. Your faithful and dearest friend,

“ Signed, JOSE MANUEL ROSAS.”

According to the last detailed accounts from Buenos Ayres, which correspond to the 26th of May, the public distress in the city had reached a most alarming height. Cut off from external supplies, beef, which was formerly so extremely abundant, could scarcely be purchased ; and fruit and vegetables were at an enormous price. Lopez occupied the surrounding country to the West and North, to within the distance of a league from the city, with 3,500 men ; whilst Rosas held his positions to the South, with 5,000, principally composed of militia and Indians. His parties have occasionally entered to a short distance from the Square of La Victoria, situated in the centre of the city, and called so ever since the invasion of the British, in 1807, under General White-lock. Commerce was at a stand ; the shops shut up ; the inhabitants compelled to be continually under arms, and the general distress con-

siderably aggravated by the alarming depreciation of the paper-currency, the doubloon being at 71 to 72 dollars, in paper, and dollars bearing a premium of 335 per cent. In the intervening country, skirmishes and partial actions daily took place, in sight of the town. The Provincials are designated by the appellation of *Federals*, and Laval's party by that of *Unitarians*.

Whilst all this was going on, a serious dispute occurred between Laval and the French Consul. The former, desirous of rendering his defence as effective and cheap as he could, issued an injunction for all resident foreigners to take up arms and join a regiment, called *del Orden*. Among the parties, thus forced into the service, were several Frenchmen, an act which their Consul considered contrary to that neutrality under which the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty had come to that country, with the peaceable view of carrying on the pursuits of commerce. He publicly protested against the measure and remonstrated with the Government. Receiving no satisfaction, and finding that Laval persisted in his design, M. Mandeville, the Consul, embarked, with his family and several of his countrymen, on board of vessels, lying in the harbour, and, some evenings afterwards, the French naval commander took forcible possession of the vessels belonging to the State, and retained them, in the way of reprisal, and until satisfaction was given for the insult offered to the Consul and the residents under his protection, as well to force the government to a settlement of the claims for spoliations, which he had been directed to institute. This matter requires a short explanation, which will, at the same time, serve to convey a more correct idea of the principles of that administration by which Buenos Ayres has been agitated and oppressed, as well as the Provinces insulted and sacrificed, for the last several years.

Rivadavia's government, by the nature of the secret instructions given to the privateers, under the Republican flag, actually declared the whole coast of Brazil, that is, an extent equal to 30 degrees, in a state of blockade, without having a single vessel, belonging to the Union, capable of cruising on any one given point. It further declared all kinds of provisions to be contraband of war, by which means, he rendered the principal articles, constituting the commerce of the United States, liable to seizure. The measure was in itself so monstrous, and the consequences attendant on its execution, so serious, that the privateers generally did not venture to avail themselves of so absurd an authority; at length, one, however, captured a North American vessel,

laden with flour, entering Rio de Janeiro, and brought her in, as a prize, to Buenos Ayres. At this period, Rivadavia's government had ceased, and although that of Sr. Dorrego disapproved of the act and pointed out to the prize court the illegality, as well as the monstrosity of the capture, the Judges, all creatures of Rivadavia and being besides totally independent of the executive power, condemned the vessel and cargo, thus giving rise to serious claims and remonstrances on the part of the Washington government. Conduct so strange, as this, can only be explained in one way. Rivadavia and his friends were themselves concerned in privateers, as, with great truth, Lord Strangford once asserted was the case, in the House of Lords, and their great object was, to have prizes and condemn them, when they were valuable, as the State would have to pay the subsequent damages, the only risk, run by the captor, being a security for ten thousand dollars, in many instances, merely nominal. This arbitrary and disgraceful mode of fitting out privateers, and which has, in fact, made the seas swarm with cruizers, deserving of no better a name than pirates, gave rise to claims of a similar nature, on the part of the British and French Governments, and as the three nations had just received satisfaction from the Emperor of Brazil, for captures under his own blockade of the River Plate, it was naturally to be expected that they would seek the same redress from Buenos Ayres ; but the French naval commander availed himself of the opportunity of also avenging a national insult. The vessels seized by him, were afterwards given up, on receiving satisfaction, part of which was, that his countrymen on shore should be left unmolested. The Consul obtained his passport and proceeded to Montevideo. We shall close the present series of illustrative papers, relating to the present position of the Argentine Republic, by the following extract of an English letter from Buenos Ayres, dated May 26.

“ Our miseries have not ended ; but, they cannot now last long. Lavalle and his partisans, who begin to feel that their necks are in jeopardy, have nearly expended all the resources which they were able to wring from the wretched and terrified inhabitants, without gaining a single point, or securing one sincere and disinterested friend. His popularity is on the decline, whilst the illusions of his flatterers, among whom the most active are the editors of the papers in his pay, are also losing their effect. His principles are, besides, now better understood. His doctrine is, that the army is paramount to every other power, and that its will ought to be the law. He holds the strong and fortified position of the Chacra de Paduan ; but his army literally may be called

one of *Observation*. He does not venture to fight, nor will he negotiate. Deputations of the citizens have waited upon him; reminding him of the lamentable state of the country, and urging him to accept of terms, without further effusion of blood. He, however, turns a deaf ear to all reasons and intreaties, well aware that, from the moment he loses the support of his Pretorian guards, his downfall, if not his trial is inevitable.

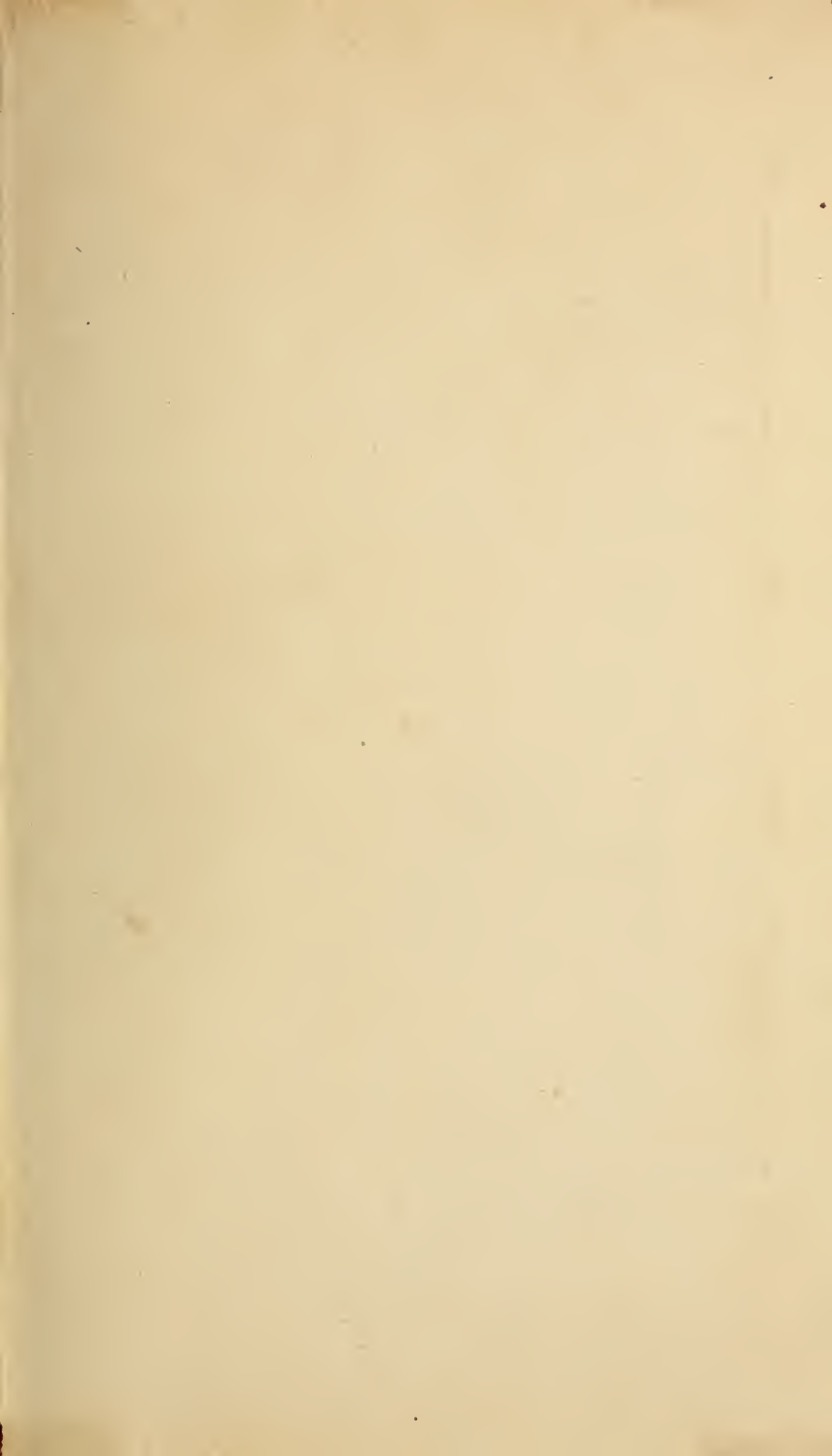
“In the mean while, Lopez gains friends. His judicious and temperate conduct has overcome the prejudices at first entertained against him, arising out of national pride. The cause of the Federals and the order and regularity of their leaders, contrasted with the ambitious and sanguinary acts of those restless and aspiring men, who have plunged the country into its present calamity, have indeed raised Lopez high in public estimation, notwithstanding the denunciations and the scurrilous attacks continually levelled against him and Rosas by that portion of the press, ready to support usurpation and misrule. Alvear, Diaz-Velez, Rodriguez and Soler, are still Lavalle’s principal props. They are implicated, and deeply too. Should a new order of things be established, they, and some of their underlings, will be brought to trial, if they do not make a timely retreat, as another similar set of our late leaders have done. The Unitarians, as this party is called, notwithstanding their superior discipline, fine uniforms, and bright arms, do not seem so fond of meeting their enemies, whom at first they affected to despise, designating them as a mere armed rabble. They, however, keep at a respectful distance, having several times been very roughly handled by them. Near the Recoleta, the other day, there was a smart skirmish, in which the city folks lost 16 and the Provincials 7. Every time the former attempt a movement, either in search of forage, or cattle, they are driven in. We are included in the attacks of Lavalle’s editors. Mr. Parish and the late French Consul are represented as the chief movers of the Provincials, merely because they did not approve of Dorrego’s murder which, among other things, Lopez is come to avenge, and would not allow their countrymen to be pressed into a war, stirred up merely for the purpose of gratifying the ambition of a few worthless leaders. There is not a British functionary, who has been employed here, or at Rio, that is not now loaded with their insults and invectives. Our mediation in the late peace with Brazil, is a theme of endless and bitter reproach, notwithstanding it was solicited and has prevented the country from falling to pieces. If it had not been for this last and, I may add, greater calamity, the country, by management, would have

gradually recovered. As it is, God only knows what will be the issue. There is some consolation, however, in thinking that the crisis cannot last long. Mr. Parish principally remains at his country seat, near the town, where he has a guard of marines from on board the *Cadmus*. He observes a strict neutrality in the present contest.

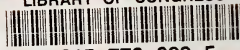
“In my last, I told you that Rivadavia, the known Director-General of the late conspiracy, is gone off to France, accompanied by his old associates, Curate Aguero, the Frenchman, Barennes, and a few others of the same kidney. The atmosphere here became too warm for them, from the moment they learnt that Lopez was coming with a considerable force, and it would be impossible to prevent the town from falling, sooner or later, into his hands. They also became alarmed at the indignation expressed by the foreign agents, and the impossibility of controlling Lavalle, when he had once gained the ascendancy. They therefore packed up their dobloons, and very sagaciously, bent their way to Europe, not, it is thought, with plans of new loans, mining or colonizing schemes, but, literally, to save their necks, for, after the repeated declarations of the Provincials, if these blood-suckers had fallen into their hands, they would have fared badly. Previous to their embarkation, they slept several nights in the fortress, as a place of safety, for if the inhabitants of the town had not been overawed by Lavalle's troops, who granted them his entire protection, they would have torn them to pieces. It is a query with the British here, whether Rivadavia will have the courage to revisit England, after the pretty pranks which he played there. In case he should, and as a kind of reception, a statement of the London jobs and the participation in them of his co-associates, is now preparing and is to be sent on. It is but just, after the British public have been sacrificed, that they should know the real parties who duped them, and then laughed at their credulity.”

THE END.

73.
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